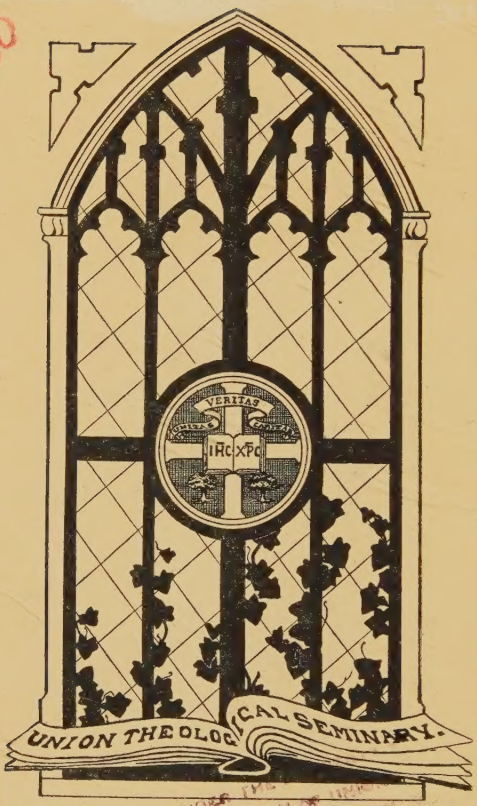
School of Theology at Claremont
1001 1424583

WHAT IS WRONG WITH MARRIAGE

By DR. G. V. HAMILTON
& KENNETH MACGOWAN

50



NO LONGER THE PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, N.Y.

Theology Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/whatiswrongwithm0000gham

WHAT IS WRONG WITH MARRIAGE

What Is Wrong With Marriage

By G. V. HAMILTON *and*
KENNETH MACGOWAN

New York
ALBERT & CHARLES BONI
1929

LIBRARY OF THE
Vale Theological Seminary
NEW YORK CITY
PRESENTED BY
R. T. Homans
MAY 21 1941

COPYRIGHT, 1929, BY
ALBERT & CHARLES BONI, INC.

University of Southern California

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PRINTED BY THE LANCASTER PRESS, INC., LANCASTER, PA.
BOUND BY H. WOLFF ESTATE, NEW YORK

Rel. 173.1 H213w
1929

Methodist World Service Fund Transferred

Various chapters in this book have appeared in The Woman's Home Companion, Harper's and The Red Book.

PREFACE

In the beginning Kenneth Macgowan and I assumed that this book would be a popularized abstract of a book which I had written for professional readers (*A Research in Marriage: Report of Findings*). We estimated that since Mr. Macgowan had spent some ten years in professional journalism before he took up theatrical production, he could write a readable, non-censorable paraphrase of it at the rate of a chapter every other day. It all seemed very simple. He would divert to this task as much time as he could spare from his activities in the theatre, and in two months the book would be finished. That was not how it turned out. For the past six months he has been a very busy member of our research organization, and this book—which isn't an abstract at all, but rather a record of Mr. Macgowan's reactions to my research material—is really his in the main and not mine. He is too modest to give a truthful account of what happened to this book in gestation, hence I am writing the *preface*.

Mr. Macgowan started in with a number of well-formulated questions of his own, and he developed a great many more as the work proceeded. Here was an interesting situation for a psychiatrist whose curiosities about sex and marriage had grown out of clinical dealings with patients. A professional student of the drama was now on the job with questions which his particular kind

of work had brought to definition in his own mind. Most of them were questions which I, as a psychiatrist, had not had in mind while writing my own account of what the two hundred married persons of my research had told me about themselves. My interest naturally led me to focus on the pathology of human nature; Mr. Macgowan's, on the interpretations of my findings from a less theoretically biased and more human standpoint. For this reason the text of my book sometimes failed to give him the material he needed for the one he was writing. My case records had to be gone over again and again, and new sets of correlations worked out. Unfortunately, the confidential nature of what the persons of my research had told me excluded him from direct access to the records. He had first to formulate his questions, then ask some member of my staff to dig out the required facts. This naturally made his task an awkward and a difficult one.

For a good many years I have been committed to the proposition that the *ex cathedra* utterances of research psychiatrists ought to have behind them a body of scientifically dependable facts. In getting the facts and interpreting them certain obvious rules of scientific evidence must be observed. This is harsh doctrine. It is much pleasanter to study your cases as they come along, and make guesses about them rather than to stick to the requirements of research method. The pleasanter and less formal way of doing it is also an immediately more fruitful and practically useful one than the austerely scientific. Nevertheless, my specialty—which, being psychiatry, is definable as the pathology of human nature—must

sooner or later brace up and admit that it isn't fair to a respectful public to label the non-controlled observations of ordinary clinical work "research findings." Even when facts are gotten together by controlled methods of observation —as in the case of my present research—great care must be taken to avoid saying "these facts prove" when they only suggest a possibility. Now, since I am a somewhat inflexible exponent of scientific realism in psychiatric research, I would have been altogether unwilling to have my name associated with the present volume on any other than the following basis:

Mr. Macgowan wished to test certain curiosities and guesses of his own in the light of the facts adduced by my study of two hundred married persons. The facts were supplied to him by my staff, and he has presented them here along with an account of what he and I think they signify. We are both agreed that if 2,000 or, better still, 20,000 spouses had come to be studied, some of the opinions would probably have been reversed. But we also suspect that many of them would have found full confirmation. Speaking for myself only, I think his book justifies a regret that Mr. Macgowan's vocational activities normally lie outside the field of research psychiatry.

G. V. Hamilton.

New York City,
June 12, 1928.

CONTENTS

PREFACE, by G. V. Hamilton v

INTRODUCTION, by John B. Watson xiii

CHAPTER I. MARRIAGE ON CLOSER EXAMINATION .. 1

The conflict of material civilization and spiritual barbarism, and the part marriage plays in it. Means and methods of an attempt to obtain for the first time scientifically comparable facts from a group of married men and women.

CHAPTER II. MEASURING MARRIAGE AND OTHER THINGS 17

Thirteen questions that established the marriage grades of the men and women. These grades as a footrule for late marriages, differences in age between the couples, differences in education, differences in income.

CHAPTER III. "WHAT IS WRONG WITH MY MARRIAGE"—*the Verdict of 100 Men* 33

"What is wrong with my marriage"—the verdict of 100 men. Temperament first of all, sex next, then lack of personal freedom. Blaming wives for the sins of the parents.

CHAPTER IV. "WHAT IS WRONG WITH MY MARRIAGE"—*the Verdict of 100 Women* 47

The hundred women report their dissatisfactions. First with the sexual demands of their husbands; next with their temperaments; then with domestic slavery and economic troubles. Marriage a failure to forty-two women.

CHAPTER V. MARRIAGE AND MONEY 66

Economic friction a handy peg for deeper dissatisfactions. Women sensitive to imagined difficulties. Economic independence as a concomitant of unhappy marriages.

CHAPTER VI. THE SEXUAL SIDE 88

Permanence and periodicity of desire in women. Birth control a spiritual necessity. Mutuality of desire. The under-sexed, the over-sexed, and the resulting unhappiness.

CHAPTER VII. NEW WIVES FOR OLD—*The Husbands' Tale* 109

How the men would make their wives over, changing temperament first, then physique and habits. Wanted:

better tempers, better brains, more passion, less scolding, less talk. Repairs for charms that have withered. Gentlemen do prefer blondes.

CHAPTER VIII. CLOSER TO THE HEART'S DESIRE —*The Wives' Tale* 128

Feminine specifications for more ideal husbands; above all, more talkativeness, next less selfishness, better tempers, more affection. Last of all, physique, and only to make the man more like the father.

CHAPTER IX. OEDIPUS REX 150

Evidence that supports Freud's dictum of the part the mother-image plays in a man's choice of his wife. Reasonably affectionate sons make happy marriages. The happiest group of men have wives on the mother-pattern. Yet the fear of inbreeding makes men marry away from the mother.

CHAPTER X. THE TRAGEDY OF ELECTRA 165

The women, like the men, find happiness with a mate that resembles the opposite parent. But fear of incest, added to fear of inbreeding, makes the women even less fortunate than the men in their marriage choices.

CHAPTER XI. BEHIND THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX . . 181

Self-love as much a mainspring of life as sex-love. Testing the sense of inferiority in two hundred men and women. Grading their self-confidence, the women ranking higher than the men. The disastrous effect on self-confidence of the belief on the part of men that they are sexually inferior.

CHAPTER XII. THE SKELETON AT THE FEAST 202

Almost half of these normal women unable to experience complete satisfaction in the physical relationship. Inexperienced mates a partial cause. Evidence that the basic cause lies deeper in faulty sex education.

CHAPTER XIII. THE WAY OF VENUS 229

The sex-lives of these two hundred men and women before and after marriage. Conservative, liberal, and radical attitudes toward adultery and variety in love, and their outcome in terms of happiness. Decrease in illicit intercourse among men; increase among women.

CHAPTER XIV. 1358 EXPERIMENTS IN LOVE 248

The love-lives of these two hundred people from five to fifty. The relation of various erotic phenomena to happy marriages. An analysis of "petting." Why the 1358 experiments produced only 96 happy marriages.

CHAPTER XV. A Summary of Facts..... 278
The most important and significant points developed by the research. A bird's-eye view of two hundred marriages.

CHAPTER XVI. A Summary of Conclusions..... 287
Counsel for the unhappily married, for those in love, and for parents. A proposal for new marriage and divorce laws.

INDEX..... 309

LIBRARY OF THE
UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY
NEW YORK

INTRODUCTION

A few years ago a fund was collected for the study of sex. I was asked to help plan a research program. It was quite a sizable sum. I went to work eagerly. When the committee met, I asked, more as a bit of pleasantry than anything else, "Is this to be a real study of sex, or are we going to study rats, rabbits, and guinea pigs again?" Very solemnly I was assured that it was rats, rabbits, guinea pigs or nothing. I tucked my plan into my pocket and went back to the office lamenting the fact that, while we were in the twentieth century in science, we were still in the fourteenth century in folk ways.

I might have known it was rabbits and guinea pigs. About 1900 Stanley Hall began a very valuable study of adolescence. From the appearance of his first article in a scientific psychological magazine—which antedated his book by several years—a whispering campaign began in university circles: "Have you read what Stanley Hall is putting out? Who is interested in that kind of stuff anyway? Hall must be a little bit queer."

Psychoanalysis had to come to this country—which it did in 1909 in the person of Freud and his colleagues, and incidentally they gave their lectures at Hall's own college, Clark University—before Hall's psychological colleagues woke up to the fact that a man may study sex and still be a scientist. The conventional public has not yet waked up to this fact. The study of sex is still fraught with danger. It can be openly studied only by individuals who are not connected with universities.

What a confession to make! It is admittedly the most important subject in life. It is admittedly the thing which causes the most shipwrecks in the happiness of men and women. And yet our scientific information is so meager. Even the few facts we have must be looked upon as more or less bootleg stuff. Those of us who try to salvage some of the shipwrecks need to have a thousand questions answered before we can guide other human beings intelligently. And we want them answered not by our mothers and grandmothers, not by priests and clergymen in the interest of middle-aged mores, not by general practitioners, not even by Freudians; we do want them answered by scientifically trained students of sex who can approach their problems with human beings as objectively as they would approach the problem of reproduction in the amoeba.

We all welcome Hamilton's and Macgowan's book. It is the best approach and the most objective approach we have so far to the study of marriage. Even Westermark's colossal volumes on marriage, tinged as they are by religion, mysticism and wish-fulfillments, must be relegated to a lower shelf. Even Sumner's "Folk Ways" somehow loses its pep because the present volume deals with your 1929 problems and mine, and not with those of yesteryear.

It is a perfectly feasible project to select a group of married people and to ask questions about how the institution is working. So Hamilton and Macgowan start with one hundred married men and one hundred married women. Not all of the hundred women were married to these particular married men. It required about four

years to make the study on even two hundred people. It was a much harder job to get the confidence of these two hundred people—get them to the point where they would tell the truth—and yet this was done. The reports impress the reader as being sincere; so much was told that there would have been no point in holding anything else back. The procedure adopted was very simple. Four hundred questions on cards were stacked near the individual. He picked up the first one and read it—e.g. "What is there in your marriage that is especially unsatisfactory to you?" Then he or she began to talk it out, the examiner writing down all that was said. The examiner asked no questions. When all two hundred persons had answered all of the several hundred questions, the work of tabulating began.

Some thirteen questions were asked in order to classify the person as being happily or unhappily married. They ran along these lines: "What in your marriage do you object to?" "How long after your marriage did you begin to be dissatisfied?" "Do you wish to go on living with your spouse?" "If by some miracle you could press a button and find that you weren't married, would you press the button?" "Would you marry if you were unmarried?" "What things in your married life annoy and dissatisfy you most?"

The high spot result is that only twenty-nine of the one hundred men and twenty-one of the one hundred women are unequivocally successfully married. Twenty-two of the rest of the men and twenty-four of the women are successfully married with qualifications. Thirty-six of the men

and forty-one of the women had hopeless marriages.

Many other general questions were asked in the hope of finding the reasons why people have made such a wreck of married happiness. We can only raise a few of them: Has the length of the marriage period any bearing on the success of the marriage? The relative ages of spouses? The husband's and wife's education, income and occupation?

The high spots from these questions show that those marriages taking place between 1921 and 1925 show the greatest number of successful marriages. This was to be expected—the honeymoon was barely over. Again the chances for success in marriage are increased as men and women marry later and later in life—at least up to age thirty-five. The unhappiest group are the women who marry before twenty-five (a conclusion which is sadly in need of a fuller explanation than the authors give it). If a young woman marries a man considerably older, she is likely to be happy, but the man is likely to get tired more quickly than she. If marriage takes place between a man and a woman much older than himself there is little chance for success. Among college graduates, marriage is only of average success. Where a spouse goes to college but does not graduate, the marriage chance is way below the average. If however the wife's education is superior to that of the man the chance is good, but not *vice versa.* The astonishing thing is that a marriage has a much greater chance for success if neither husband nor wife attended college—a rather sad commentary on the colleges. Size of income plays

relatively a minor role in the happiness of men. But the women—sad to relate, wives of richer husbands are far happier than the wives of poorer husbands.

Next we come to intimate details of why marriage is unsatisfactory. Thirty-seven women and forty-nine men complained of temperamental dissatisfaction—this led the list, which would seem to give a real justification for divorce on grounds of temperamental differences. Sexual dissatisfaction was next. It brought thirty women and thirty-nine men into the complaint stand. Lack of personal freedom was next, with eighteen women and ten men as complaining witnesses. Jealousy caused eleven women and eight men to complain. Troubles over children, seven women and eight men. Friction over relatives, only four women and seven men—maybe the mother-in-law is not so bad as has been painted after all. And wonder of wonders, only three women and no men complained of the demon rum.

Surely every judge who has to deal with divorce, every legislator who helps to frame our ridiculous divorce laws, every lawyer who has to handle divorce cases and every registered voter who may be called upon at some time to sit on the jury of a divorce case must read these chapters if we are ever going to be able to think intelligently about the marriage relationship.

The research does not stop here. Searching questions which bring out hidden causes of unhappiness are relentlessly asked: What is the effect of extra-marital sex intercourse upon chances of marital happiness when the men have engaged in it? When the women have entered

into it? How many women ever successfully reach a successful sex climax in marriage and can they be happy in marriage without it? Why do so few women—only fifty-four out of one hundred women (and I believe this is far too high) ever reach the sex climax—is it due to physiological factors, man's ineptness or early training of the mother? What of masturbation? Is extra-marital intercourse increasing—among the men—among the women? And in this last group of answers, or shall we say confessions, we run upon the most startling fact brought out in the book. Men are just a bit steadier under the marriage yoke than the women. Women married during the last decade or so are quite experimental. Extra-marital experimentation is becoming quite general (I am sorry the authors have to use the word "adultery"). But on these things which so intimately touch the lives of all of us the authors must speak for themselves. All I can say is that I am thankful that I am neither a priest nor a moralist who has to uphold a non-changing mores. I am neither shocked nor grieved by what Hamilton and Macgowan bring out, but I am intensely interested. Their facts, developed so dispassionately, help to steer me in my relations with my friends and acquaintances. I can say fervently, I thank my everlasting chromosomes, who are without beginning and without end, that I do not have to pass judgment upon my fellowman. I have only to understand him.

The research student who reads this book will probably want to ask a few questions. Should the psychiatrist himself have selected the hundred men and the hundred women? Hamilton admits

that he exercised a certain selection—"but they were special cases of normality and they were intelligent and articulate." Yet over in the chapter on "The Skeleton at the Feast" the authors state quite frankly that only fifty-four of the married women had ever in their lives reached the sexual climax and that twenty-four of the forty-six women who never experienced the climax were distinctly neurotic. Even though they admit that they were not seeking a cross section of humanity, would it not possibly have been better to have had Dr. Adolph Meyer select a group, Dr. Kirby a group, Dr. Tilney a group, Dr. Timme a group, and so on. It seems to me that this would have insured a little more objective selection of material. We are so prone always to select the people we continue to meet on the basis of our own biases.

It would have been rather interesting to have changed the technique for getting answers to certain questions. The examiner handed the question to a subject on a typewritten card. The subject read the question and was later questioned about it. He had to give the answer verbally to the examiner. No matter how emancipated a person may be, there are questions which are probably never answered wholly truthfully if the answerer can be checked up. For example, one of the questions was, "If you could get unmarried as easily as you could turn out that light, would you press the button?" Seventeen of the women and sixteen of the men admitted that they would. Suppose, however, conditions had been arranged so that the individual could have gone into a room and dropped a black or white ball into a box, so

that his or her vote could have been made in utter secrecy and in such a way that the individual casting the vote could not be checked up, the individual voting having been utterly assured of this. My own experience in this field leads me to believe that no such number as given by the authors would have voted to stay married.

Possibly the most serious question which will be raised against the research is a statistical one. Can we speak in terms of percentages when only one hundred men and one hundred women are used? It must be remembered that, if we make a hundred tosses of a penny, it may fall either heads or tails thirty-five or more times in succession and yet, if we toss it 1,000 times, the head and tail falls will be pretty close to even. Hence when Hamilton and Macgowan use comparative terms like "more" or "less" or speak of "greater or less" percentages, one must remember that they have already asked in the beginning of the book for statistical license. This is not as serious, it seems to me, as one might think at first sight. When it comes to dealing with behavior problems, I for one have never felt that we should attempt to delay presenting our results to the public until a large enough number of cases can be cited to yield results statistically reliable. I would rather see the behavior of one white rat observed carefully from the moment of birth until death than to see a large volume of accurate statistical data on how 2,000 rats learned to open a puzzle box.

I do think that it is a great loss to science that this work should not be continued. The authors have made such a good start, and they have gained so much from this work, that it is hard to forgive

the circumstances which make it impossible for them to go on with it for the next ten years. In my opinion the work should be extended so that many different types of people could be brought in for study. To let these authors give up this work and go about ordinary daily duties is to commit a scientific crime. Any university or educational foundation should be proud to attach its official stamp of approval to such work.

I hope that the years to come may bring a more liberal attitude on the part of our great scientific foundations. Only they, in the present state of society, can sponsor such work. If all of our so-called educational and scientific foundations were to spend all of their income on the marriage problem—or better the problem of how men and women should live together (maybe it will turn out that marriage is not the solution)—they would be helping humanity far more in my opinion than if they continued to sponsor the physical and strictly biological sciences. Science has gone far enough for a time. We as human beings should be allowed to catch up on the science of living together. Some day there will be a great twenty-five-year era, a golden era, far greater in importance to human beings than any era in natural science or any era in literature and art. This will be an era in which long and patient work by many investigators on the behavior of men and women will begin to bear fruit. It will give us a true experimental ethics. At the end of it we shall at least have as much information about how we should live together as we now have on how to plan our meals so as to get the proper vitamines, proteins, fats, and sugars.

JOHN B. WATSON.

WHAT IS WRONG
WITH MARRIAGE

CHAPTER I

WHAT IS WRONG WITH MARRIAGE

The conflict of material civilization and spiritual barbarism, and the part marriage plays in it. Means and methods of an attempt to obtain for the first time scientifically comparable facts from a group of married men and women.

The meager brains and the consummate courage of the platitudinist are all you need to analyze and explain the ills of white society today. We suffer hideously and ominously from the conflict of material civilization and spiritual barbarism. As our means of control over life increase in scope and power we find more and more need of spiritual strength and insight to protect us from disastrous materialism, and we find that these qualities—far from keeping pace with material progress—seem to have fallen away.

The power and dominance of spiritual barbarism is shockingly evident in human marriage. The institution arose as a natural, inevitable product of a simpler civilization—a civilization purely agricultural if not pastoral or even grounded in the chase. Man and woman shared and divided important and life-giving duties. They multiplied and enriched the earth. There was little or no questioning of the processes of human nature upon which rested the perpetuation of the race. The progress of material civilization has immensely altered the relations of the sexes. It has borne most heavily upon the

center of sexual and family life—the woman. The things and the ideas and the patterns of behavior which it has brought to her may have been good or bad or a little of both, but they have not fitted and they do not fit with the traditional institution of marriage. To cite only one aspect of this, consider the material device which Bernard Shaw has rightly called "the most revolutionary invention of the nineteenth century"—the contraceptive. This factor and others too numerous to list have barbarized traditional marriage for millions of people, and driven millions more into devious, timid, or half-baked attempts to make over the institution without altering it openly or in the light of conscious and scientific thought. Of course it is evident enough that the matrimonial ills which result from the conflict of material progress and spiritual stagnation have a vastly corrupting effect on the already corrupted social life.

The power of this corruption—both in marriage and in society—may be judged from the array of specialists who labor more or less vainly to end it —the philosopher, the educator, the priest, the jurist, the sociologist, the physician and the artist. Our failure cannot be laid to lack of ability and lack of resources. We fail because we spend our energies largely on studying how people *ought* to act, not how they *do* act. Even when some of us do study the behavior of human beings, we study pathological products of human behavior, the tragic results of human actions and attitudes long passed. We do not study normality. We do not study ourselves. We do not face ourselves as example of what is probably true of

the great rank and file of other so-called normal people. We do not wish to know that almost from the day of our birth, the state, society and most persons whose lives intimately touch our own—including our parents first of all—unwittingly conspire to make us stupid and evil by the time we have grown up and must assume spousal and parental responsibilities.

It is only through knowledge of how *normal* people *behave* within any institution like marriage that we can estimate how well adapted that institution is to human needs or how it may and must be altered. If we relied on the actions of the abnormal—the obviously maladjusted—we should have to condemn marriage in toto. If we relied on the opinions of the normal, we should have to accept it as it stands and make the best of things.

II

Most Americans and most Europeans take it for granted that marriage is an adequate solution of the healthy individual's sex problems. If they were conscious of an issue, the majority of voters would be behind the effort of the majority of legislators to safeguard it as a permanent and unchangeable institution. These people might admit that America's high divorce rate needs some explaining, but they would take it for granted that divorce is merely the product of unwholesome social tendencies which prevent certain individuals from adjusting properly to the normal demands of human nature and human law. Perhaps most of us would sum up the matter by saying that if a man and a woman who are reason-

ably well adjusted to life as a whole fall in love and marry, they will find in marriage a permanently satisfying sex life unless one of them is exposed to seriously bad influences in his environment, or is sexually incapacitated by illness, accident or vocation.

Such a theory must stand investigation. We must try to find out if the evils of environment are likely to be so general and so permanent as to require modifications of marriage to meet them. But, above all, we must try to learn just how generally satisfied in marriage men and women really are. By talking about "abnormal" malcontents and "abnormal" environments we cannot escape the fact that a great many people who go on living together in marriage find it a hateful bondage, a dreary, long-drawn-out harassment, and altogether a stultifying relationship.

The striking truth, which even a little observation shows, is that a significant number of people who can and do adjust themselves to every other relationship in life cannot make marriage at all comfortable for themselves. They conform successfully to all the other patterns of civilization. They are, indeed, unthinking pattern-followers. They will accept without effective protest any job, any political, economic, social, or educational system, any poem, play, or musical composition, and any mode of human relationship—if by accepting it they can lead lives that conform to the patterns of their neighbors. But, though they accept marriage in this spirit, they cannot live by it in the same state of happiness that follows their acceptance of all the other patterns.

III

Perhaps the point will be clearer if it is phrased in human terms. Here is the account of a case that is hypothetical only in the sense that it is duplicated in all essentials in the lives of so many married people that allusion to any particular couple is unnecessary.

John and Jane were fairly well educated, and reasonably well adjusted. Most of us would have rated them as wholesome, interesting, and attractive young persons. During their courtship they were such congenial companions that they spent every available moment together. At last, in their middle twenties, they married. They knew they were seriously limiting their lives as individuals, and accepting real risks and responsibilities, but this did not stop them.

Their marriage proved to be a stable one. It will endure till death dissolves it. To the outside world this couple's general behavior and what they have to say about themselves imply that marriage has been, in the main, a successful venture. They are ready to advise their friends to marry. They will so advise their own children when they are old enough. "Marriage," say these two, "has its disadvantages, but its compensations outweigh these a hundred to one." They believe this, too. John has lied to John so consistently, and Jane to Jane, and they have both carried the thing off so well before their world that their statements go unchallenged.

The compensations about which they speak mean merely that they have been able to follow certain patterns of Nature at the price of endless

frustration and discontent. They will not recognize how big a price this is. Long before they have left youth behind, these two former lovers and congenial companions have begun to bore each other intolerably, and to fall into an ugly negative attitude which is so like that of most of the married couples they know that they accept it as an inescapable part of marriage. The consequences are serious. John has fallen into a state of chronic dissatisfaction that makes him alternately tense and weary; he does not have the inner energy to push through to real business success. At home Jane has grown restless, irritable, tense, and almost always tired. Outside her home Jane is one of a group of semi-parasitic women who fruitlessly scatter their energies and fool themselves about the importance of their joint undertakings. The coming of two children relieved for a few months her habitual sense of frustration; but this doesn't prevent her from subjecting them to endless petty thwartings, or proceeding on her way towards the fate that awaits women of her kind in middle life.

The case of John and Jane—which could be made to fill a volume if we listed in narrative form the characteristics and episodes that seem to be the common denominators of so many marriages—appears to many of us the prevailing type in modern marriage. We may exaggerate its prevalence, but the very sense that Johns and Janes fill the suburban trains, populate the country clubs, and inundate the bridge parties argues for the necessity of a little thorough and sound research with more or less normal married men and women. It is only by the study of hundreds of

such people that we can arrive at enough human facts to give some sort of intelligent answer to that often nebulous thing called the marriage question.

If we tried to phrase this question concretely, it would be:

Is marriage in itself a faulty institution? Does it prescribe a kind of relationship between a man and a woman which tends in the end either to impair seriously or to destroy completely the couple's original congeniality and their sexual attractiveness to one another? Or does the fault lie essentially in the kind of conscious and unconscious mental equipment that our human environment tends to build up for us throughout infancy and childhood?

IV

The research in marriage which this book describes was an attempt to gather objective facts about married people which might enable a reader —whether a scientist or a layman—to arrive at a little more judgment as to this marriage question. It was also an attempt to find out from the stories of two hundred men and women what methods and what leads would be worth following in larger researches, if such researches could be financed.

To begin with, of course, the two hundred had to be normal men and women. The nerve specialist knows all too little about such people. He knows still less about their marriage. His patients give him a Hogarthian picture of mismated dissatisfaction—a sort of Rake's Marriage distorted by all the vagaries of a sick mind. The marital unhappiness of the ordinary nervous pa-

tient is usually just another symptom along with insomnia and a tired feeling in the morning. Evidence from the sick tells very little about the matrimonial reactions of average men and women. The psychiatrist must go to the well if he wants to prescribe for the well in this matter of marriage.

What *would* the ordinary man say about his marriage if he could be induced to talk as freely and as fully as patients are in the habit of doing? What would the "case records" of two hundred such people show? An almost freakish combination of circumstances made it possible to obtain intimate and extensive self-revelations from two hundred just such normal married men and women. They were all educated and intelligent, able to analyze and describe their reactions with some degree of thoroughness and precision. They were occupied in more or less important work. Not fifteen per cent of them would ever be likely to need the aid of a nerve specialist. They came, one at a time, the whole two hundred of them, and they had so much to say that it required the greater part of four very busy years to give a full hearing to them and to analyze their information.

It would be futile as well as unscientific to pretend that this research reflects the general state of the matrimonial world. The people involved were preponderantly normal human beings. But they did not represent a cross section of society. It would be impossible to gather such information from a completely representative group of civilized white people. Tens of thousands of men and women would have to be interviewed. The

mere selection of the proper number from each class and each intellectual and emotional grade would require an exceptional genius. The self-ignorance of the majority would make it necessary to use methods very close to elaborate psychoanalysis in order to secure definite facts, and for purposes of comparison the results of this would be only a little less unscientific than their ignorance.

These men and women were, therefore, special cases, and a law unto themselves. But they were special cases of normality, and they were intelligent and articulate. Their records do not prove what per cent of American men are happily married, or even what per cent of a certain class of men and women in New York City are happily married. Fifty-one out of the whole hundred men and forty-five out of the hundred women turned out to be married to reasonably satisfactory mates: but these figures were more or less arbitrarily determined by the very selection of the people. From the premise that about half our marriages are apt to be satisfactory, the people were so chosen as to bar out any preponderance of the sick or of husbands and wives so obviously harassed by matrimonial difficulties that they would give their confidences to any responsible person who pretended to a professional knowledge of such matters.

But though these people cannot tell us what percentage of society is happily married, they can tell us many things about normal, intelligent venturers on these little charted seas of matrimony. They can tell us that, out of two hundred men and women of a certain class—half of them, at any

rate, reasonably successful in marriage—a certain proportion wreck their marriages on the rocks of temperament, a certain proportion run aground on physical difficulties, a certain proportion are lost on the shoals of the pay envelope; and they can tell us a great deal about the physical deficiencies and the mental prejudices of these voyagers, and what factors in their pasts have done most to undermine their judgment and deflect their course. The facts and figures that come out through the stories of these people may be no test of marriage in general, but they bring at least illumination. They are not typical, but they are extremely significant and suggestive.

V

After a grant of money had been secured to finance this research, the hunt for the subjects began. The men and women had to be intelligent, reasonably well educated human beings; for they were expected to dig out, weigh, and analyze their own reactions to extremely intimate, intricate, and disturbing matters. Out of the two hundred finally selected, only ten of the men and twenty-seven of the women were not college-bred. Twelve of the men and another group of twenty-seven women had not been able to complete their college careers; but there remained about sixty-two per cent who had got their degrees.

In their occupations the hundred men were fairly representative. Twenty-two were in business. Thirty-two followed one or other of the professions—law, medicine, teaching, sociology, research, architecture, etc. Eleven were engineers. Twenty-six worked in literature or the

arts; there were a publisher and a poet, an actor and a composer, four painters, seven editors and three playwrights. There were six men engaged in religious work, as well as two students and one man of leisure. Their ages ranged from twenty-three to fifty-nine, but the great majority were between thirty and forty. Most of them had been married five to fifteen years. Only twenty-seven were childless, and half of the hundred had two or more children.

Forty-five of the hundred women had personal occupations outside of home-making or child-raising. Five were in business. Thirteen were professionals; a half of these, teachers. Twenty were engaged in the arts; there were two playwrights, three artists, half a dozen writers, an actress, a poet, and a musician. The ages of the women ran from twenty-two to sixty-two. Six were over fifty, nineteen between forty and fifty, fifty-three between thirty and forty, and twenty-two under thirty—three-quarters of them were under middle age. Sixty per cent had been married from five to fifteen years. Twenty-five were childless, but half of the hundred had had two or more children.

These women were not all of them the wives of the hundred men. Only fifty-five of the women were married to men taking part in the research. There were fifteen separated women, against five separated men, and three divorced women against nine divorced men. The women were a little more foot-loose and unhappy than the men, but probably not much more so than is normal with the two sexes. By and large, the hundred women matched the hundred men pretty fairly.

LIBRARY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Only 203 cases had to be accepted for examination in order to obtain the two hundred records. At the end of the second two-hour period the examiner asked one of the three rejected cases not to return because her answers seemed to lack frankness. The other two records were not completed because the subjects found the examination upsetting. The examiner wishes he had rejected three of the two hundred records—one because he had to be admonished not to wander off into endless irrelevancies, and the other two because, on analysis, their statements seemed a little less than frank.

VI

The problem of getting these people to talk was not so very difficult. It required far more thought to evolve a method of keeping the examiner silent and thus bringing out clear and comparable truth.

Most of us like nothing better than to talk about ourselves—*intimately and at great length*—if we can do it under conditions that make it a safe and dignified thing. The unhappy man and the neurotic are only too eager. The happy and healthy man enjoys thoroughly a few sessions with a psychiatrist who can help him to make an inventory of his matrimonial situation. No matter how sure a man may be that all is well between himself and his wife, he is also sure that there is room for improvement, and so there can be no disloyalty in such confidences as this research required.

The problem of confining the conversation to the people was far harder. It was necessary to

find a way of minimizing the personal equation, of preventing the psychiatrist from injecting his own mind and his own deductions and his own influences. Obviously that would distort the self-analysis of each person and destroy all comparative value between the reports of the two hundred. The examiner would end by listening to the echo of his own voice.

The problem was particularly acute in this case, but it is a problem that lies back of any analysis, no matter how thorough and personal. The nerve specialist should be far more on guard than he is against influencing his patient, and distorting the truth which it is his business to discover and observe. He is too apt to behave like the parlor magician who secretly puts a rabbit into the other fellow's hat, and then pulls it out, saying, "See! It was there all along!" The worst of it is that, unlike the magician, we put the rabbit into the hat without realizing it, and we are as badly fooled as the patient. We think: "This man's hat probably has a small, white rabbit in it, and this one's feels so heavy that it must contain a large, black Belgian hare." And then we unconsciously proceed to make good our guess. We suggest the idea to the patient, and he immediately acts on the suggestion. The examiner might guess that Mr. A's dissatisfaction with his wife was fundamentally due to the fact that she was not a younger edition of his mother, and that it was not due to the causes to which he ascribed the failure of his marriage. He might guess that just the opposite was true of Mr. B, and that Mr. C accused his wife of extravagance, not because she was seriously spendthrifty, but because he

was stingy. If the examiner had questioned each man in a different way, and with reference to his guesses about each particular case, the differences and the similarities between their stories would have been somewhat determined by the differences and similarities between the examiner's guesses. The problem was to keep the method of examination strictly uniform for all men. Then their information could be compared, because no one would be any more influenced by the examiner than were any of the others.

Here is the way it was done: When the man or woman paid his first visit the rabbit-in-the-hat difficulty was explained to him. Then he was ready for the first of nearly four hundred questions. The first was: "What is there in your marriage that is especially unsatisfactory to you?" But it was not asked orally. Instead, the man read it from the top of a stack of typewritten cards on the desk by his side. He was expected to disregard the formality of such a procedure, and to talk out his answer as freely as he would if he were a nervous patient at an ordinary consultation. And that is exactly what the people did. They sat in the examining chair and talked. They talked and talked and went on talking until the examiner's right arm, which was writing down all they said, went almost numb. Some of the men merely said: "Nothing," to that first question. Most of them made comments of fifty to a hundred words. One man turned out five thousand words. Some rattled through the whole four hundred questions in two hours. A few took thirty hours. The average was about an ordinary working day.

Because of the feminine phenomena of menstruation and pregnancy the women were asked more questions than the men. There were 372 for the women who had been pregnant, 357 for those who had not, and 334 for all men alike. As some of the questions asked for reactions on a number of points, there were really more than four hundred both for the men and for the women, and, all told, there were some eighty thousand different reactions to be set down and compared. In addition to the forty cards that carried the women's questions and the thirty-six that carried the men's, seven cards gave more or less extensive explanations and definitions which "eased" the men and women into certain difficult subjects, and forestalled them from questioning the examiner and upsetting the stereotyped, one-sided, and invariable method of gathering the information.

The questions were designed, of course, to explore every aspect of the marriage relationship in a systematic way. A fifth of them were adapted from Dr. Katharine B. Davis' mailed questionnaire study of one thousand married women and one thousand single women. Certain of the examiner's questions which were aimed to get at the principal dissatisfactions of each subject with his marriage were repeated in a fresh form at different points in the research. The rest progressed from the economic aspects of marriage, through family intruders such as mothers-in-law, contraceptives, parenthood, menstruation, sex adjustments, love affairs, parentage, sex curiosity, daydreams and sleeping dreams, sex experiences and sex aggressions both before and after pu-

berty, subjective inferiorities, and masturbation, to perversions, incest and homosexuality. This volume takes up those aspects of the research which are of most general interest and can be handled in a general publication without danger of censorship.

CHAPTER II

MEASURING MARRIAGE AND OTHER THINGS

Thirteen questions that established the marriage grades of the men and women. These grades as a footrule for late marriages, differences in age between the couples, differences in education, differences in income.

Marriage has not escaped unscathed from the industrial and scientific revolution of the past century. Its motives and its emotions may be the same as from the beginning. In detail it may have changed less than most human institutions. Yet legally, socially, and spiritually it is not quite the same structure our Victorian forebears knew. All things considered, it is therefore a little surprising that most of us treasure the notion that, in the individual relations of the people involved, marriage follows patterns beloved and reverenced and sentimentalized for generations. Even that arch-revolutionist, the creative artist of serious fiction, joins us in celebrating an ideal couple that has long passed away so far as the better educated classes go. This union is the triumph of young love. The man is twenty-two or three, the girl nineteen or twenty. Despite their youth they are well-educated, even college-bred, though the girl can add the submissive charm of being just a little in arrears educationally. This true love of theirs flourishes best in a cottage. It will deepen through ten years of common struggle for existence. Financial ease might blight it. A pretty picture, but not a very accurate one. The happy

spouses of this research run diametrically counter to the pattern of the ideal couple.

II

In all probability the first question that a layman would ask regarding the people in any research in marriage would be: How many are happily married? In the back of his head he would have an idea that this fact would furnish an index to the matrimonial happiness of modern society. He would imagine that this would tell him what proportion of his acquaintances were satisfied with their marriages.

This would indeed be a valuable fact if a research of this kind could deal with thousands of people in one social class instead of hundreds. It would be still more valuable, of course, if the research could spread over many classes of society, but then it would have to take in tens of thousands. This particular research had a group large enough to eliminate most of the accidental errors that lie in smaller numbers; but the group was not large enough to act as any mirror of the marital happiness of even the people of the particular class drawn upon. As a matter of fact, the purpose of the research was not to ascertain anything about the average happiness of marriage, but rather to collect objective facts and to test out various aspects of marriage by comparison with the happiness of the people involved. And so, if the purpose of the research was to be accomplished, the percentage of happy marriages among the men and women had to be roughly typical of their class. To do this, the examiner had

to eliminate most of the neurotics who offered themselves or were offered by sympathetic friends, and to keep down to normal the number of the radiantly happy and the dumbly contented. All with the object of getting the proportion of the presumably happy somewhere near the 50–50 basis which the examiner felt from his own social and clinical observation was true of the better educated people of a large city. With this established, he had only to find whether each person was happy or unhappy in his marriage; then he could test out any matrimonial phenomenon by the proportion of the happy men or women involved.

But—granted that these people were average-happy—how was the marriage state of each person to be determined? Obviously not by merely asking them if they were happily married. Just as obviously, the examiner could not pursue a lengthy enough process of either personal acquaintance or psychoanalysis to judge entirely for himself. But there appeared to be another way of getting the information with reasonable accuracy and quite within the scope of the research. It seemed possible to ask questions on various aspects of marital life which would check one another, and, along with the evidence of the whole four hundred questions, would provide a fairly safe test.

There were thirteen such questions. The reader can apply them to himself if he chooses. Without the answers to the hundreds of other questions, they are no infallible guide; yet they are a fair basis on which anyone may grade his own married happiness. If the reader cares to do

this, he should note the general trend of his answer to each of the following questions before he goes on to read the method of grading.

1. *What is there in your marriage that is seriously unsatisfactory to you?*

2. *Have you any habits to which your spouse objects?*

3. *Has your spouse any habits to which you object?*

4. *Are you and your spouse socially and intellectually well mated or otherwise?*

5. *What is the principal source of trouble between you and your spouse?*

6. *How long after you were married did you begin to be seriously dissatisfied with any serious lack or shortcoming in your spouse?*

7. *Do you wish to go on living with your spouse because you love him?*

8. *If by some miracle you could press a button and find that you had never been married to your spouse, would you press that button?*

9. *Knowing what you know now, would you wish to marry if you were unmarried?*

10. *Describe your spouse's disposition as well as you can.*

11. *What things in your married life annoy and dissatisfy you the most?*

12. *If your marriage is an unsuccessful one, what do you believe to be the chief cause of its failure?*

13. *What changes would you make in any of the following mental qualities of your spouse: Temper? Talkativeness? Thriftiness? Carefulness of dress? Selfishness? Tendency to scold? Intelligence? Social standing? Religious*

life? Truthfulness? Tendency to flirt? Capacity for showing affection? Strength of sex desire? Vanity? Serious-mindedness?

In rating a marriage one point is allowed for the proper answer to each question except the twelfth; the proper answer to number twelve adds two points to the rating. To secure a point on any of the first three questions the answers must be negative—"Nothing," "Nothing serious," or, in the case of the third question, "Only minor habits." The answer to the fourth question must be "Yes"; to the fifth a negative; to the sixth, "Never"; to the seventh, "Yes"; to the eighth, "No"; to the ninth, "Yes." To get a point on the tenth question, the description of the spouse's disposition must contain no reference whatsoever to any undesirable trait. The answer to the eleventh question must be "Nothing." To secure two points on the twelfth question, the subject must say that the marriage is successful or at least not unsuccessful; a qualified denial of its failure will not do. He must propose no changes in answer to the last question.

Obviously, the grade based on these thirteen questions may run from zero to fourteen. The ratings of the two hundred men and women in this research ran as follows:

No. of Points	*Men*	*Women*
14	2	2
13	1	3
12	8	0
11	6	8
10	12	8
9	6	7
8	8	12
7	8	5

No. of Points	*Men*	*Women*
6	4	10
5	9	4
4	9	9
3	12	5
2	8	11
1	4	10
0	3	6
Total	100	100

By studying the complete records of the two hundred people—including fifteen women and eight men who were divorced or separated—the examiner was able to simplify the grading and group the people in five fairly clear groups:

Group	*Points*	*Class of Marriage*	*Men*	*Women*
A	10 to 14	*Obviously successful marriages*, with no serious dissatisfactions or discontents	29	21
B	7 to 9	*Fairly successful marriages*, with more or less chronic elements of dissatisfaction, which, however, do not have disruptive qualities, and which the spouse regards as overbalanced by the satisfactory features.	22	24
C	5 to 6	*Marriages of doubtful success*, with persistent and irksome maladjustments which the spouse is endeavoring to correct, but with a high degree of attachment between husband and wife	13	14
D	4	*Intolerably bad marriages*, in which the spouse finds overwhelming sources of dissatisfaction and grievance, but which he or she has taken no steps to terminate	9	9

Group	*Points*	*Class of Marriage*	*Men*	*Women*
E	0 to 3	*Intolerably bad marriages involving even more serious dissatisfaction and including those of 8 men and 15 women which have ended in separation or divorce*	27	32

Groups A and B include the men and women who were happily married; groups C, D, and E, those who were not. This division served throughout the research wherever the examiner wished to test any marital habit by the percentage of those involved who were happy in their marriages.

The men proved more happily married than the women. Fifty-one of the men fell into groups A and B, against only forty-five of the women. The same ratio showed in the total number of points that each sex managed to amass. The discrepancy between the men and the women was not at all due to the fact that twice as many women as men were separated or divorced. There was the same relation between the unhappiness of the men and the women in the hundred and ten who came into the research as couples married to one another. The simple matter of fact seems to be that educated women are more easily disappointed in marriage than men. Nature and modern society unite in making it harder for the woman to obtain the objectives of her marriage, they give her much less to fall back on outside the home, and she can only fall back on this at the price of losing some share of what she instinctively wants at home.

The vast bulk of the research had to do with personal relations and personal interpretations—

facts perhaps, and yet always tinged with the subjective, always filtered through the opinion of the informant. But the research brought out a number of purely objective facts—the ages of the people, the dates of their marriages, the degree of formal education, the size of their incomes—and the relation of these facts to the married happiness of the people who provided them are often extremely interesting.

III

The first point of departure—the date of birth—gives little in the way of results. The men and women born before 1880 were about as close to average of happiness as those born ten and twenty years later.

The next point—the date of marriage—shows only what we have all observed time and again: The happiest husbands and wives were those who had been married less than five years, and the least happy were those whose marriages were five to ten years old. The reasons are too obvious to need repetition. The figures may be worth giving:

	Men		Women	
Date of Marriage	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*
Before 1915 . .	35	49%	42	41%
1916 to 1920 . .	14	44%	12	36%
1921 to 1925 . .	20	61%	25	64%

The only point of interest is that the new brides should show more happy marriages than the new grooms—64 per cent against 61 per cent. This is the only period and almost the only place in which the women can look on marriage with more op-

timism than the men. Here we see the newly married woman reaping the satisfactions of her novel situation with its sudden freedom and comparative power. It is a few years before she grows so accustomed to these things that their attractiveness palls, and she begins to look for those values in her husband which her early training has taught her to seek and which she has less than an even chance of finding.

Let us forget now the calendar date of the marriage, and look at its life-date, so to speak—mark whether the marriage comes early or late in the man or woman's life and whether this has any relation to married happiness. The people in this research, like most people among the better-educated, married comparatively late in life—the majority of them after twenty-four. Those who married earlier were not so happy:

	Men		Women	
Age at Marriage	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*
Up to 24 . . .	19	32%	46	28%
25 to 29	44	50%	39	59%
30 to 34	29	66%	8	63%
Over 35	8	50%	7	57%

The men and women follow the same pattern. Their married happiness increases as they marry later and later in life—up to thirty-five. After that it recedes a little, but not much. Far and away the unhappiest group are the women who marry before twenty-five, and more women marry in those years than in any other period. The explanation of the happiness of more mature marriages may merely be that by twenty-five a man

or woman has passed out of the years when both pressure of sex and inexperience of life are greatest, and has reached more judgment and self-control. It may also be that it is only then that a man or a woman gets far enough away from adolescence to be free enough from the panicky fear of incest to look for those qualities in a spouse which resemble those of the man's mother or the woman's father, and which seem to make for married harmony.

IV

A fairly common spectacle is the younger man married to the older woman. It seems so common—far commoner than it actually is—because sooner or later the husband's infidelity or a separation or divorce is apt to advertise it. The obvious failure of such obviously unequal marriages has led to the general notion that a man should marry a woman a little younger than he. Doesn't the fact that women mature physically three years earlier than men prove this?

As a matter of pure theory, there are reasons to suppose ideal marriages should occur where the wife is the senior; for this re-establishes the mother-son relationship of the man's childhood. Actually, the thing is not quite so simple. These marriages are apt to take place when the man is neither experienced nor genuinely mature. The mating urge is beginning to assert itself with some force. Yet something blocks him from the pursuit of girls of his own age. He may be too diffident. He may feel a psychic or a physical inferiority. Or he may be so much a "mother's

boy," the "mother-image" may be so strong within him, that he can only seek someone whose very age and experience are part of the mother picture. If the woman is not so very far over thirty, she may be a victim of the same diffidence and lack of confidence; she may be afraid of the direct, possessive masculinity of the men of her own age. She may have some hint of the homosexual that seeks the delicacy and effeminacy which inexperienced, unaggressive youth so often counterfeits. Mothering may seem to her to mitigate the sexual life just enough to let her slip into it past some barrier that early training has set up.

It seems obvious that the mother-son factor may make for happiness in such a relation; for the research shows a striking proportion of happy marriages where some element of this exists. On the other hand, some of the other factors are likely to be fleeting—inexperience, diffidence, for instance—and all of them banish the normal vitality which seems essential to happy mature life. The research shows evidence to support both conclusions. It appears in the following table:

	Men		Women	
Relative Ages of Spouses	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*
Husband 7 to 11 years younger	3	00%	4	00%
Husband 1 to 3 years younger	13	62%	9	56%
Husband and wife of equal age	10	60%	11	73%
Husband 1 to 5 years older	55	51%	49	39%
Husband more than 5 years older	19	47%	27	48%

Out of seven men and women involved in marriages where the wife was markedly older than the husband, not one was happily married. In all the cases the husband tired first and the impulse towards separation—for six of the seven were separated—came from the man. Apparently the mother-son situation was too obvious, the man grew to greater maturity and self-confidence and turned to a more vital sexual life, and the aesthetic problem of the fading charms of woman—fading all the sooner because of the disparity in age—also played its part.

The next line of the table does something to reinforce the power and the good of the mother-son relationship for the men. The thirteen men who married women slightly older than they were have a higher proportion of happy marriages than any other group of men. The percentage is so close to that of the group marrying women of equal age, that too much should not be made of it. But on the other hand, there are additional facts in this table which bolster it up by showing that other relationships seem happier than the conventional one of the older husband and younger wife. The nine women who married slightly younger men are not so happy as the thirteen parallel cases among the men—which falls in with the general truth that the mother-son relationship is distinctly a more powerful sex relationship for the son than for the mother; yet, these nine women are ten per cent above the average married happiness of the whole hundred women, and the women who married men of equal age are almost thirty-five per cent happier than those that followed the commoner pattern. The only groups

with percentages markedly above the average are those in which the wives were at least as old if not a little older than their husbands. An explanation might be, of course, that in these cases the women were slightly immature for their age, and therefore *appeared* younger; but then why should they have any higher average as a group than those who *were* younger? One is forced back to the possibility that just the hint of a mother-son relationship involved in equal ages or slight seniority in the woman has a special beneficence.

The powerful rôle that the mother plays in determining the married happiness of her children showed up in another relation. This had to do with the age of the parents at the birth of the child. In the case of the father it made very little difference whether the father was thirty years the senior or not. The percentages were close to the average for both sexes. With the mother it was different, and it was peculiarly different for the men. Which, incidentally, is a characteristic pattern that recurs again and again throughout the whole research—mothers more important than fathers, and mothers more important to men than to women. Where the mother was at least thirty years older than the son, 56 per cent of the men were satisfactorily married; the same situation for the women produced 49 per cent of happy marriages—both above average, but the men further above. Humanly interpreted, this means that dependence on a mother who is markedly older doesn't interfere so much with an easy, normal escape at adolescence, and a correspondingly fortunate attachment at maturity.

V

Somewhere between childhood and marriage comes the objective fact of education. Can it play a part in a man or a woman's adaptability for marriage? How far can it affect the chance of satisfactory marriage? Rather astonishingly, at any rate for the people in the research. Those who went to college and graduated came out pretty close to the average for the whole group; they had followed the conventional pattern of their class. Those who went to college and never got their degrees ran far below—the men almost 20 per cent below. Inability to choose a mate well or to follow a marriage through with steady, clear concentration would seem to be natural enough in a man or a woman of today who would not or could not follow an education through to its conclusion. But the most striking fact had to do with the men and women who got no higher education at all. They were the only ones markedly above the average—the men particularly. Here are the figures:

	Men		Women	
Formal Education	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*
Graduated from college . .	78	51%	46	44%
Attended college but did not graduate	12	33%	27	37%
Never attended college . .	10	70%	27	56%

Almost as striking a vagary appears when we look into the relative educations of the husbands and wives. Naturally enough, where the couples could match degrees equally both the men and the women were above the average. Where the hus-

band could look down upon the wife, they were both below par. The startling fact came out of the marriages where the husband's education was lower than the wife's. This was the state of a quarter of the women, and only 32 per cent of them were happy. The nine men who had to look up to better educated wives seemed to react to this disability with the greatest pleasure; 78 per cent of them were happily married.

	Men		Women	
	Total	*Percentage Happily Married*	*Total*	*Percentage Happily Married*
Equal degrees of formal education	34	65%	27	52%
Husband's education superior	57	39%	48	48%
Wife's education superior	9	78%	25	32%

VI

By and large, the size of income seemed to play little part in the married happiness of the men. Those who made more than $5,000 a year were only one per cent happier than the average. The women told another story—and a sadly materialistic story. Remember that their average of happiness was 45 per cent, and then consider that the wives of richer husbands were 54 per cent happy and the wives of poorer husbands only 36 per cent. The grades of the various professions represented have a decided interest. Not only because the highest happiness lay with the business men, and the business men had the largest proportion of $5,000 incomes; but also because business men are obviously those that can expect to reap the largest financial rewards in the fullness of time.

Here is a table showing the relative incomes and happiness of these economic groups:

	Men		Women	
Husband's Occupation	*Incomes Above $5,000*	*Married Happiness*	*Husbands' Incomes Above $5,000*	*Married Happiness*
Business	64%	68%	59%	55%
The arts	50%	50%	50%	45%
Professional . . .	58%	41%	49%	39%
Engineering . . .	27%	27%	41%	41%

The only group in which the married happiness does not follow pretty closely the size of income is the professional. A doctor may plead for his fellow professionals that theirs is an occupation which often commandeers all hours of the day and night, and leaves least time free for the common occupations of married life.

CHAPTER III

"WHAT IS WRONG WITH MY MARRIAGE"

The Verdict of 100 Men

Temperament first of all, sex next, then lack of personal freedom. Blaming wives for the sins of the parents.

When a man and a woman marry it usually means that they are so attracted to each other that they freely and indeed eagerly enter into a union which the law, social convention, and their own desires define in a special kind of way. The intention all round is that this union shall be permanent, harmonious, and satisfying, and therefore a wholesome context for any children that may come into it through either birth or adoption. The man and the woman have entered into a contract which they may not break—even by mutual consent—without placing themselves in the position of having made at least a numerical addition to the statistics of social pathology. If separation or divorce ends their marriage after they have become parents, they have not merely confessed an error in judgment. They have let themselves in for an awkward and unnatural situation. They have committed a biologic sin. A sin against the conventional expectations of the tribe, or even against the formal laws of the state may be no sin at all; it may be a virtue. But a sin against known principles of mental or physical hygiene is never a virtue except when the individual deliberately sacrifices his own welfare in

behalf of another. In the case of divorce he may be sacrificing another's welfare—the child's—in behalf of himself. The wisdom of divorce, like the wisdom of marriage, must rest upon a balancing of the frictions and frustrations of a common life against the harmonies and satisfactions—for parents and for children—which a marriage makes possible.

Frictions and frustrations therefore play an immensely important part in determining the success not alone of marriage but of the institution itself. And so the first question in the research and many, many others tried to draw forth a list of the irritations and dissatisfactions that the two hundred men and women felt in their marriages. This chapter and the five succeeding chapters deal with these sources of friction. The causes must be explored later.

II

The first question—"What is there in your marriage that is especially unsatisfactory to you?"—proved to be the crucial one, and the responses to it provide, in the main, the material of this chapter. There were twelve other questions that bore on the sense of dissatisfaction with marriage, but the first sudden query brought a sort of spiritual explosion in which the sharpest, deepest, most important of conscious grievances and difficulties came out with a bang. Below them in the unconscious might lurk all manner of other troubles—troubles that only a long psychoanalytic treatment could bring out. But in the first explosive response we got all that the man knew and we got it almost altogether free of deliberate

protective camouflage and fine-spun reconsiderings.

Out of the hundred men only thirty-nine had no serious complaint to make with their married state. Even of the fifty-one who, in the end, met and passed the test of successful marriage, thirteen harbored an important dissatisfaction of some sort. All told, sixty-one husbands were "especially dissatisfied" over something or other. Most of them had many causes of dissatisfaction. One man had a dozen troubles on his mind. There were only fifteen who had only one dissatisfaction to brood upon. Altogether the sixty-one men lodged 233 complaints. Not different complaints.

The easiest way of presenting any clear picture of what these hundred men thought was wrong with their marriages is to combine many of their complaints under broad, general topics. In other words, boil the forty-three different kinds of complaints down to eleven. Then we can get at one of the most interesting and generally disputed questions about marriage: Is the physical relation more important than the spiritual?

Or perhaps it would be clearer to use the word "temperamental" instead of "spiritual." That comes nearer defining the region in which the dispositions, prejudices, tastes, and habits of husbands and wives can make for serious friction. The complaints over conflicting temperaments definitely outnumbered the complaints over the purely sexual side of marriage. Forty-nine men complained of temperamental difficulties, while only thirty-nine complained of the sexual. This is no measure, of course, of the individual in-

tensity of the complaints, and there is no way of knowing how far the physical unconsciously underlay the temperamental or *vice versa.* It does not even mean that half the men were absorbed over one kind of trouble and four-tenths over another. Most of the men were upset over more than one thing, and the physical and the temperamental therefore overlap. Let us try to separate them out a bit.

To begin with, if you look only at the men who have a *single* subject of complaint, you discover that the physical is far more important. But this is a small group—only fifteen. Of these fifteen, six were physically dissatisfied and three felt temperamental clashes to be the only important trouble.

On the other hand, see what happens if you separate the men on the basis of how many complained of temperament—among other things—but had no criticism to make of the sexual adjustments of their marriage. Twenty-five men—a quarter of the whole hundred—were seriously dissatisfied over temperamental matters and not at all upset over the physical. Only fifteen dwelt on the physical and excluded the temperamental.

Incidentally it is interesting to note that all those who complained about jealousy also complained about temperamental troubles, while a third of these jealousy-ridden men seemed perfectly satisfied so far as their sex life was concerned. Let us take a hasty glance at all the eleven kinds of things that these hundred men found wrong with their marriages. Arranged in the order of their numerical importance they run as follows:

Temperamental dissatisfactions	49
Physical dissatisfactions	39
Lack of personal freedom	10
Ill-health	10
Jealousy	8
Troubles over children	8
Economic troubles	8
Friction over relatives	7
Social life spoiled by wife	5
Vocational interference with marriage	2
Religious conflicts	1
and—	
"Everything wrong"	2

III

So much for statistics. Let us look at the human side now. Let us look at the emotions themselves. As these men sat there answering question after question, they opened flood-gates of memory behind which had been stored up resentments, self-torture, puzzlement, doubt, patient devotion, all the emotions that result from that immense paradox—the intimacy of marriage and the aloofness of two human egos. Out poured phrase after phrase and sentence after sentence freighted with all the small fears and greater tragedies of man trying to meet and understand woman.

Here are some of the things these men said. For obvious reasons they are not in the exact words used; but they are accurate approximations or else paraphrases which express the essential quality of certain emotions. And they present a kind of bird's-eye view of the hundred men from the perfectly satisfied on to the cataclysmically distraught:

"Nothing." . . . "Nothing in my marriage is unsatisfactory to me at all." . . . "Rather difficult to answer. I don't know of anything. There isn't anything outstanding at all." . . . "It is really very difficult to answer that. We have been extremely happy—at least in recent years." . . . "That is quite a question. About the only thing that seems unsatisfactory at the moment is that I can't provide material things that I'd like to. I am not really satisfied with the amount I can earn to provide things for my wife." . . . "That is a difficult one to answer. There really isn't anything. The only thing that really worries me is the fact that we do seem to get comparatively little happiness as we go along for what it costs us." . . . "So much is satisfactory that it is hard to answer. Maybe I'm unhappy a little because we can't work together, can't find a job that we could devote our joint efforts to doing."

"Just the idea of being tied down." . . . "I'd say restraint." . . . "Just the idea of being tied down to one person. I never had my fling before marriage. I have a feeling of envy about other men. I know it is too late to be thinking of such things, and it isn't fair to my wife. She is an ideal mate. She has no limitations. As a matter of fact, she is superior to me in more ways than one." . . . "I guess the only thing I really feel is the lack of liberty, and probably also certain characteristics of my wife."

"I am more or less affectionate and my wife is really of the very intellectual and executive type. We neither of us are very strong, and both of us are of a nervous temperament." . . . "We're awfully different in many sides of our personali-

ties. I think she is a little quick in her judgments and depends more on feeling than reason, while my inheritance makes me tend to go slower and be more coldly logical in my decisions. The result has been a great deal of criticism from my wife—almost all the time—about how slow I am." . . . "Temperamental differences between myself and my wife." . . . "The most unsatisfactory thing is the great difference in temperament. We are almost as different as a couple of people could be."

"My wife bores me a great deal."

"The fact that my wife and I have so few tastes in common. We're really perfectly congenial, but we are not interested in the same things." . . . "I suppose the biggest thing is lack of mutual confidence. I have a queer sense that my wife is dissatisfied with me and that creates a kind of lack of repose. A kind of clash of personality —an emotional irresponsibility, she calls it." . . . "I think the thing that stands out is that we don't seem to think along the same lines. Any discussion is likely to end up on the personal. I don't think I'm to blame. I'm sure she thinks I'm overbearing in matters of opinion and she mentally goes on the defensive. The result is that we don't discuss things as much as we ought to. I enjoy discussions and it would make our life more interesting if we could talk more. For instance, I can discuss things with Mrs. A. very freely, but I can't with my wife."

"I'm annoyed because my wife doesn't like to accept my associations." . . . "I think I'm a good mixer and enjoy a certain amount of social life. I make friends easily, but my wife doesn't.

She's reticent. I don't believe she enjoys being with people as much as I do. I don't know that this causes any dissension, but it causes an unnecessary unpleasantness."

"I'd say one item is keeping a mother-in-law around." . . . "I crave the same atmosphere that I knew as a boy, when my parents and a cousin who lived with us used to sit and listen to me read aloud at night. There was such a quiet air of refinement and love and appreciation. And I was the center of it all—anyway, I was giving my mother so much satisfaction."

"First off, I want to be the dominant factor and so does my wife. She isn't interested enough in my interests to provide those subtle satisfactions which are the foundation of personal peace. I am sometimes unhappy about a lack of candor in her—almost intellectual dishonesty. Maybe I've never felt sure enough that she was my intellectual equal. We don't harmonize. I don't get from her the personal praise and admiration I want and I guess she doesn't get it from me, either. I try to tell her at least once a day something nice about her. But sometimes this is hard —especially when her clothes are untidy, as they usually are." . . . "I like social life and a certain freedom from domestic trivialities and my wife thinks of nothing but domestic duties and the children, and she is unable to be the intellectual companion and often the physical mate she should be."

"Right after we were married I found that my wife was a bad housekeeper. My old home had always been so neat. Mother always kept every-

thing in order and my wife is careless and sloppy."

"The health of my wife—her fear of having children." . . . "On the sexual side we have been unhappy because of her fear of having children." . . . "I have never felt what it was to have the normal physical relationship. There is nothing else." . . . "First I should say the lack of children. After that, the lack of a satisfactory sex life."

"Sexually, there was trouble. Mentally, a sort of narrow-mindedness. And jealousy. That's why we went to pieces. I am not jealous. We saw that we couldn't get on." . . . "My wife's jealousy is the only thing." . . . "In her delirium she hoped for five hundred lovers. I was mad with jealousy—rage—helplessness." . . . "I've got a great deal to say. First off, we don't share the same attitude towards life. She seems to be materialistic, and I just want to live efficiently and not try to get material things out of existence. She is very jealous, not only of my work, but of my friends. She suspects almost every woman friend of mine of having designs on me or of my having designs on her. Secondly, she feels inferior to my friends, because they are important people. She is frightened to talk with them. And some of them have been unkind enough to make her feel out of her element."

"Just about everything!"

IV

Quite apart from the temperamental and physical adjustments of marriage two aspects of the common life together have grown rapidly in im-

portance in the United States in the past two generations. These are the social and the intellectual. Married couples are constantly putting more and more store by personal graces and mental capacities. These things make their mutual life richer and more satisfying. They also enable the couple to make more interesting and flattering contacts with the outside world. Now how far had the hundred husbands of this research in marriage found their mates unsuited to a satisfying social and intellectual life?

In their first explosive bill of complaint five men blamed either their wives or their marriages in general for dooming them to an unsatisfactory social life. Eleven men found their wives lacking in those capacities which make for intellectual or social satisfaction and give women vocational opportunities. Three men complained of the difference in the educational, social and cultural backgrounds of themselves and their wives.

A special question—"Are you and your wife socially and intellectually well mated or otherwise?"—throws more light on this current problem. The hundred men appeared to be far better mated socially than intellectually. Three-quarters of them answered unhesitatingly that the marriage was socially satisfactory. Only a little more than half said the same thing for the intellectual side. There was a considerable number who felt uncertain on both points: but only eleven men thought themselves ill-mated socially, while twenty believed they were intellectually ill-mated. With human nature what it is, you may take this to mean that in almost every case the husband believed the wife at fault.

V

When did the unsatisfied husbands begin to find something wrong—*seriously* wrong—with their marriages? Is it in the first year of married adjustments that men begin to question their choice of a partner? Or do they grow more restive later, when the first glow of the new relationship has passed? Almost half of the hundred men declared that they had never known any serious dissatisfaction, and thirteen turned in inconclusive answers. Of the remaining forty-three, three-quarters said they found themselves seriously dissatisfied with their wives before the first year of marriage had passed. It is particularly interesting to note that seven of the men began to be "seriously dissatisfied with any lack or shortcoming" of their wives *while they were still engaged,* and eight answered "from the beginning."

Although, in answering the first question, only thirty-nine of them had found their wives entirely satisfactory, they claimed a high average of satisfactory marriages whenever a direct question on this score appeared. Here is one such question: "Do you wish to go on living with your wife . . . because you love her?" Seventy-eight men answered "Yes" or "That is the only reason."

The next question—a favorite that all the men and women seem most likely to recall—read: "If by some miracle you could press a button and find that you had never been married to your wife, would you press that button?" Here was a question that enabled even the most conscientious or most timorous to speak their minds freely without a sense of unfairness or guilt. Yet sixty-six men gave immediate and unqualified answers of "No,"

eight more said "No," but added qualifications, and five were uncertain. There were only seventeen who more or less definitely would have ended their marriages.

The next question explored a neighboring field —dissatisfaction, not with a particular mate, but with marriage as an institution. It read: "Knowing what you now know, would you wish to marry if you were unmarried?" Seventy-seven men said "Yes." Five more gave a qualified affirmative. Only eleven answered "No" or "No" with qualifications.

Very late in the research the opening question bobbed up again. This time seventy-seven men betrayed no dissatisfaction with their marriages. The next question asked for an opinion on whether or not the subject's marriage had been unsuccessful. Thirteen answered, "It is unusually successful," or something of that sort. Forty-three said, "It is successful." Sixteen made a qualified denial that it was unsuccessful. Here were seventy-two men who thought themselves reasonably satisfied, whatever the opinion of the examiner might be.

Thus the husbands grow better and better satisfied with their marriages—far better satisfied than the examiner can convince himself they should be. After hundreds of questions and a dozen sessions, surprisingly few believe themselves desperately dissatisfied in their marriages. They have taken inventory of their lives, and they have come out with what they think is a very satisfactory stock on hand.

Yet one of the most interesting developments of the whole study is that, as the men grow surer and

surer that they have married with a reasonable degree of happiness, they grow more and more critical of the shortcomings of their wives. The same question that opened the study was repeated toward the middle of the sessions and again at its close. On first meeting it, thirty-nine declared that there was nothing seriously unsatisfactory with their marriages. When they met it next the number shrank slightly to thirty-seven. At the last only twenty-three were unable to find serious fault with their wives.

VI

So much for the facts *as the hundred husbands saw them.* The examiner has his own opinions. At the end of the four years' research they amount roughly to this:

These men found too many things wrong with their marriages. It was necessary to think back of what they said, back of what they thought were their dissatisfactions. It was essential to picture them first of all as little children very much affected, even very tragically affected, by the actions and words of their parents. Many of them were crippled by fears that their parents taught them, fears of their original, normal and perfectly natural physical desires. When they grew up and married they carried these fears with them. These fears had become inner frustrations that prevented them from getting out of marriage all they craved emotionally as well as physically. They had been taught in childhood to hide from their own minds these forbidden urges of nature, and so when their marriages did not give them the

emotional and physical satisfactions which they fundamentally needed and craved, they didn't know that they should blame themselves first of all, and back of that their parents. All they could see were their partners in misfortune. And so they blamed their wives.

CHAPTER IV

"WHAT IS WRONG WITH MY MARRIAGE"

The Verdict of 100 Women

First the sexual demands of their husbands; next their temperaments; then domestic slavery and economic troubles. Marriage a failure to forty-two women.

The first question—that bold, bald challenge: "What is there in your marriage that is especially unsatisfactory to you?"—marked the women off sharply from the men. Where thirty-nine husbands had no complaint at all, only twenty-five women came through with a reply of "Nothing." Almost half of the forty-five wives who were happily married found something seriously wrong, where only a quarter of the happy husbands had complained. The men and women produced about the same number of dissatisfactions—well over two hundred—and they had just the same number of different things to complain about—forty-three. But more women than men complained of only one irritation, and more women than men complained of a very large number. One wife had no less than fifteen troubles on her mind, and three others had as many dissatisfactions as the most querulous husband had produced.

The first question brought a sharp and significant explosion. It was undoubtedly the best test of the man's or woman's state of mind. Furthermore, the first complaint that each mentioned seemed to be by far the most important, real, and

permanent. In many ways the best picture of what these seventy-five dissatisfied women found wrong with their marriages comes from these first grudges.

Many of the women replied simply and clearly —especially the twenty-five that found nothing unsatisfactory in their marriages. But in a few cases the answer reminded the examiner of the restless bafflement of a person half-awake and physically uncomfortable, who knows that all is not well with him and yet can't quite define or locate his discomfort. These women fumbled and told nothing specific, except that they were oppressed by a sense that the matrimonial situation wasn't right. Here is the sort of fumbling answers that fourteen women gave—somewhat paraphrased and disguised, of course, yet typical:

"I never thought along those lines. Have I got to find something?" . . . "Oh! My! [Then a pause.] I wonder how I can answer that. [Another pause.] I'd almost say that it might be a lack of mental understanding between him and me, so far as I can answer at all. That must be an awfully vague answer." . . . "That's an awfully hard question. I'm afraid I don't know what to do with it."

II

When it came to positive and definite dissatisfactions, troubles over the sexual side of marriage led all the rest by a wide margin. Eighteen women had this uppermost in their minds when they met the first question. Some of their answers were as simple and direct as: "The sexual —that's the fundamental thing." Others had

much more to tell, and the way to the truth led through the revelation of many tangled relationships. One woman knew the simple fact that she was sexually cold. Yet in spite of her frigidity, she had an ardent temperament, and she loved her husband. He loved her, and the consequence was all manner of friction. He made demands on her that she wanted to meet and yet could not. She was miserable over her failure, even more miserable than he was hurt and angry. Here is another woman who felt the lack of physical vitality in herself: "It seems to me that I have always been disappointed because I have never felt any passionate attachment to my husband. I felt this lack from the beginning. Affection seems to kill passion for me. He is just the other way, and that makes an impasse." Another woman began: "What a big question!" There was a laugh and a long pause, then: "Our sexual life together was most unsatisfactory. Things did not work out at all, and many little troubles came along as a consequence. In the end I began to feel that my husband was not the sort of man I wanted to live with anyway. He is too fatherly and too concerned with my health. He doesn't seem to me a stimulating person. I don't know why I feel I need stimulation from an outside source."

If the answers of these two hundred men and women mean anything as a reflection of the state of the better educated classes in America, here is food for thought. Out of eighteen wives who complained of lack of satisfaction with the sexual side of marriage, the trouble with no fewer than fourteen of them, as their intimate confidences revealed, lay in their own inadequacy. In the other

four cases it was the man's fault. The natures of these fourteen women had been so warped in early childhood by the false Puritanism of their parents that they were now incapable of living a full and normal married life. How far does all America's womanhood suffer from the pious sins of the fathers—and mothers?

III

Compared with physical complaints, the temperamental troubles of these women ran a very poor second. Only nine women believed that lack of congeniality in their husbands was the primary trouble. And this was almost a complete reversal of the men's reports. For only twelve husbands put the weight of their married miseries principally on the physical, while sixteen registered temperamental dissatisfactions. There cannot be the slightest question that this all comes back to the simple fact that men are far better constituted than women of the present day to get complete sexual satisfaction out of marriage. Again it should be emphasized that nervous or Puritanical parents have been at special pains to blunt and distort, *particularly in their daughters,* those instincts which are necessary to the development of a normal nervous system and a normal physique.

Each of the nine women who complained primarily of uncongenial temperaments said, in one way or another, "There isn't the unity of purpose, outlook, or desire that I need for my contentment." Some blamed their husbands for this. Some, like this one, did not: "I think the

main thing is we don't look at things in the same light. We seldom agree. Mainly it is my fault." Here is a woman who put it completely up to the man: "I have reached a stage where my husband bores me and has bored me for a long time. He is very unstimulating." Another: "The trouble is lack of love for remaining at home, and just being quiet and doing things together. He doesn't make a comrade of me. This troubles me because I think I see a fundamental cause of this in him—something he can't escape from. He is a Spaniard and has this utterly different way of regarding a woman." Sometimes a woman saw faults on both sides, or at least divergent natures that could not be bent together: "There have been different things at different times. Right now, if there is any real difficulty, it is in our make-ups. He is careful and efficient. I am spontaneous and original. Sometimes this causes lack of sympathy and difficult situations. It is usually something he has said that proves his lack of understanding of me. He hasn't the creative kind of mind, the kind that I like. I study causes; he studies effects." There is certainly a little criticism in that comment, but here in the next we have frank displeasure over a husband's shortcomings: "I haven't found him intellectually companionable. He has an entirely different lot of interests. He dislikes one of the children without any real reason, and I think he likes the others better than he does me. He never likes the people I do, and he isn't ready to give my friends any consideration at all. In fact he is rude to them."

A certain number of these complaints on lack of congeniality came back in the end to a re-em-

phasis on sexual maladjustments. And to reinforce the importance of the physical to women —or to the women of this research—we had seven wives who complained that their husbands were either unfaithful to them or on the way to be so. Some of them merely suspected and were tortured; others knew: "He doesn't care for me any more. He doesn't want me. I think it's because of this other woman. He worships our child. He's transferred all his affection to it, and he has found a wife outside his home." Some of the women at one time believed in sexual freedom both for their husbands and themselves. Almost invariably they could not tolerate their husbands' affairs; though the husbands—registering no complaints whatever about their wives' interest in other men—seemed to manage free-love more easily. "I am emotionally unhappy," said one wife, "at my husband's playing up to other women. The thing that has annoyed me most is his taking a lover, even though I took one, too."

It is not at all a bad guess that 5 per cent of the better educated women of America—like these of this research—find it very hard to adjust themselves to the duties and limitations of domesticity. Five women centered their complaints chiefly on "Kinder" and "Kueche," if not "Kirche." Just as a similar group of men objected to the "unfreedom" of matrimony. "I like the domestic part," said one woman, "but I hate it, too. I miss my own work, and yet I like to cook and sew things for the house. But being tied to it—I hate that." Another: "The most unsatisfactory part is the monotony of the days. What you have to look forward to is so—I don't know what! But

you see people who have been married ten or twenty years, and they are just going to bridges and teas. That's all there seems to be ahead." "The most unsatisfactory thing," said another woman, "is routine. I hate it so. The marriage relation itself is all right. It is the conventionality and responsibility that go with it."

IV

Out of these hundred men and women the same number—five—seemed to have acquired mates who were childish or undeveloped in their minds and emotions. "Though we have been married a dozen years," said one woman, "my husband hasn't matured. He doesn't seem to me any older than when we got married. That means that I have had to shoulder all the responsibility. He isn't practical. A man who is egoistic without being really self-confident is pretty hard to live with." Another woman had a husband subject to severe depressions: "The trouble lies in my husband's spells of glumness. Last winter he went through a period when he thought he had to have long hours of sleep. This caused an irritating discussion. It developed into a depression. He retired into himself as if he had been injured, and then he slept all day. I kept wondering what I had done to hurt him, but I couldn't see."

Children make a source of difficulty for many women—not being able to have them, or the husband's not wanting them. Four of the women began with this complaint, something that primarily disturbed only two of the men. "I haven't any children. I had a little boy, but I lost him. He

doesn't want children. At least, I think so." . . . "I can't have children." . . . "He won't let me have children."

There was one woman who was distressed to find that her husband had turned out to be her child. He wasn't moronic or diseased, but he wasn't a mate. He clung. "My husband never married me. I married him. He is so much younger than I am, and he is hopelessly immature."

Three women complained of their husbands' inability to earn enough money. "The only unsatisfactory thing," said one of them, "is that I haven't enough money to live in comfort. I was really ideally happy in our tiny apartment until the baby came. Now the three rooms are so crowded. I'm not holding that against my husband. He's doing the best he can."

Three other husbands were most decidedly not doing their best. They were alcoholics, and this was the complaint that first came to the minds of their wives.

One woman was unhappy because her husband was egregiously selfish. In spite of their love and their common interests, she couldn't be happy, because there was always this ugly thing staring her in the face.

Another husband was unsatisfactory because he was so taciturn—"just a clam."

One woman found her husband's family the only fly in the ointment, but such a large, ever-present, noisome fly.

One woman who loved her husband almost obsessively knew that he did not love her. There was no getting round that fact.

One woman knew that her own ill health interfered with the success of her married life. She wasn't up to doing many things with her husband which seemed essential to the happiness of them both. She knew that a tired wife isn't easy to live with, and that the husband of such a wife gets to be a little difficult also.

And then there were two women who were like rats in a trap: "The whole damned thing is so bad I can't pick one thing and say, 'It's that.' "

V

Of course, some women are downright unlucky in their choice of a husband. It is not a question of a particular man's qualities not suiting a particular woman's tastes. Many women inadvertently select husbands with whom no woman could be happy. Almost 15 per cent of the wives in the research had made this sort of mistake, and could legitimately blame the whole failure of their marriages on their husbands. Is the ratio as high in the whole class of society from which these people came? The three who married alcoholics, the four whose husbands were physically inadequate, the five whose mates were moronic or psychopathic, the one who was tied to an egregiously selfish ass, and the one whose husband remained infantile in his emotional attitudes—all these can be rated as women whose marriages were failures because they had had the bad luck to marry matrimonial incompetents. It doesn't always take two to make a marriage unsuccessful. In these fourteen cases the women might have been paragons of unselfishness, wisdom, and beauty, and yet the

fundamental shortcomings of the men would have insured fourteen matrimonial failures.

On the other hand, in the majority of cases, partial or complete failure is probably a joint error, and could be corrected. Out of the seventeen women who found the sexual relation to be wrong in their marriages, fourteen were themselves inadequate. They had never—even during the first glowing days of mating—been able to find complete satisfaction. Perhaps no man could have helped them to an ultimately satisfactory adjustment, yet we know that among the hundred women were several who, at the end of months, even years of mutual effort, at last came into their own.

VI

Another way of analyzing the complaints of these hundred women is to look at those that have *only one* subject of dissatisfaction. There were only fifteen men in this group, but no less than thirty-six women concentrated on a single topic—just as at the other extreme they had outnumbered the men in the variety of troubles which a single wife could enumerate. Here, among the women with only one grievance, the sexual again led all the other sources of dissatisfaction.

Although more than a third of the hundred women were content with just one complaint, the rest more than made up in number and variety of troubles. Perhaps the simplest way of picturing how most of the two hundred and thirty-three complaints were divided, is to combine many of the related troubles under one head and put these down in a table that also compares the answers of

the men. Here we have, not one primary complaint from each woman, but a list of all the things the women found wrong:

	Women's Complaints	*Men's Complaints*
Temperamental dissatisfactions	37	49
Sexual dissatisfactions	30	39
Domestic slavery or lack of personal freedom	18	10
Economic troubles	16	8
Lack of affection	13	0
Jealousy	11	8
Everything wrong	10	2
Troubles over children	7	8
Ill-health	5	10
Vocational interferences with marriage	5	2
Friction over relatives	4	7
Social life spoiled by marriage	2	5
Mate's alcoholism	3	0
Evasive answers	2	0

Here we find temperamental difficulties outnumbering sexual difficulties for the women, but not to the extent they do for the men. Troubles with families, with children, with health, and with the social life also bring out more complaints from the men. But on all the other topics the women have more complaints than the men. It is particularly interesting that five times as many women think the whole marriage hopelessly wrong. But the most astonishing fact in this table certainly is that a dozen women are much exercised over the lack of affection in their marriages, while *not one man expresses any views at all on that subject.*

VII

Most of these women were, like the men, upset over more than one thing. Let us try to separate them out a bit on the basis of how many complained of one thing but were totally oblivious of another. Most comparisons of this sort work out very much as in the cases of the men, except that the women place more emphasis on the physical than on the temperamental. There aren't half as many women as men upset over *both* the physical and the temperamental. They seem to keep those two things straighter in their minds. They don't confuse so much what they want.

But on the subject of jealousy the women show a very striking difference. Now every man who brought up jealousy, also complained of temperamental troubles, and three-quarters of the jealous men were dissatisfied sexually. Only half of the jealous women complained about temperament, and not one of them was sexually dissatisfied. It is not too wild a guess that men are more apt to grow jealous when they find a wife unresponsive because unsatisfied in her sex life, and women are more apt to pay attention to possible rivals when the thing at stake is satisfactory and highly prized. The fact that the men were not so prone to jealousy as the women came out sharply where couples had granted each other freedom to indulge in outside "affairs." The men tolerated their wives' adulteries very well. The women might accept the same situation intellectually but they could not go through with it emotionally.

VIII

The men and the women of this study disagreed sharply about the intellectual and social qualifications of their mates and the success of their marriages along those lines. In answering the first question the men were far more critical about this than their wives. Only two women blamed their husbands or their marriages for dooming them to an unsatisfactory social life, against five men who complained. Only three women found their husbands lacking in those capacities which make for intellectual, social or vocational advancement, where eleven men accused their wives of such failings.

A special question—"Are you and your wife socially and intellectually well-mated, or otherwise?"—developed the fact that the women weren't so sure as the men that they were socially well-mated. Twice as many women saw themselves socially ill-mated. They were also more critical about the intellectual success of their marriages, but the difference wasn't so sharp. The interesting point here is that the women were keener on the social question and more aware of social and intellectual disparities, but that this didn't weigh so much in the scales of dissatisfaction. Again, we have a "spiritual" value that was not so important as the physical and the material.

IX

The women knew much better than the men just when they first began to be dissatisfied with something in their mates. Only eight were uncertain, against thirteen men. Remember also that more

women were dissatisfied than men. Consequently there were fifty-three women who could place the date of dissatisfaction, against only forty-three men. Yet in spite of this, the men who found dissatisfaction before the end of the first year of married life exceeded the women thirty-one to twenty-six. In the next five years, however, three times as many women as men began to be unhappy, and it was not until after the sixth year that the men began to catch up. The men, driven to marriage by a much more direct and simple physical urge, confessed to doubts about their mates even during the engagement period—seven critically-minded males to only one woman—but they went right on. They grew still more critical in the first few months of marriage. The women seemed to marry in a state of vague desire for love, uncritical and unsure. They spent five years learning to feel and to know. It was only then—a little late, no doubt—that they were able to separate passion and judgment. Something of the sort can be safely said of most women.

X

The first question on the dissatisfactions of marriage came back at later periods of the research. So far as the women were concerned, familiarity did not breed any more contempt than they already felt. The men had grown steadily more critical after the first plunge. The second question of this sort—perhaps because it asked what was the principal cause of "*trouble*" between husband and wife, instead of speaking placidly of mere "dissatisfactions"—brought the

women up sharp against the idea of serious, possibly disastrous friction. Where this treatment increased the number of complaining men from sixty-one to sixty-three, it reduced the critical wives from seventy-five to sixty-three. When the question took the form of asking what most annoyed and dissatisfied, the women jumped back to seventy-nine and the men went with them as far as seventy-seven.

After a series of questions on marital economics and the effect of relatives on the married life, came three questions which give us some sense of how far the men and women were consciously content to go on living in a state of matrimony—even their own state. First they were asked if they wished to go on living with their mates because they loved them. Exactly the same number of women who had found serious dissatisfactions with their husbands now declared they would go on living with them for love. Three more men than women were willing to continue for this reason. Ten women and eleven men would not part because separation or divorce was against their principles, and ten men and ten women—many of them the same as those with principles against divorce—wanted to stick because a break-up might injure their business or social standing. Only fifty-six women, against seventy men, wanted to stay together because the other spouse would be unhappy without her. Still fewer women would tolerate matrimony for the sake of the children—fifty-three women to sixty-two men. The women who did not wish to go on living with their mates on account of love, children, or a feeling of loyalty far outnumbered the men.

Next came the odd, arresting and very engaging query: "If by some miracle you could press a button and find that you had never been married to your husband would you press that button?" When this was sprung on the men a particularly unhappy husband who had just turned on the desk light, shot his hand back to the electric button and turned the light off again. Only sixteen of his fellows followed him by word of mouth. Sixteen women were likewise ready for a new deal. The next question asked whether, knowing what they now know, these men and women would wish to marry if they were unmarried. Eight women said, "No," and nine men.

Finally, toward the end of the examination, came a question which asked once more for the sources of dissatisfaction. But it asked frankly and firmly just what matters of this sort had made the marriage a failure. At the word "failure," the solid majority of the dissatisfied men melted away. There were only twenty-eight members of the opposition who were willing to admit that the marriage had been unsuccessful. The women's party held out. Its numbers shrank very noticeably, but at the end there were forty-two wives more or less calmly voting their marriages unsuccessful, and ready to give a bill of particulars. Close to the end of this long self-examination only fifty-eight women believed themselves happily married to any degree, while seventy-two men still voted their marriages successful.

Here are the answers to the six crucial questions placed in tabular form:

61 men and 75 women found something "especially unsatisfactory"

63 men and 65 women found a "source of trouble"
77 men and 79 women found something to "annoy or dissatisfy"
22 men and 25 women said they did not love their mates enough to want to go on living with them
34 men and 36 women said they would end their marriages if they could do so by pressing a button
37 men and 53 women said their marriages were failures

The sudden and firm pessimism of the women over the failure of their marriages was truly startling. Was this feminine cynicism? Was it the emotionalism of woman headed, for the moment, toward gloom? Or were the men exhibiting a broad streak of optimism and chivalry?

The examiner was pretty well convinced that the men were acting along lines laid down for them in earliest youth. An echo of "She's your mother, my boy!" still rang in their ears as they thought of the women who had replaced for them the image of their goddess of childhood. Loyalty and chivalry, consideration for the weaker and the more dependent—these things turned them sentimentally optimistic at the word "failure."

As for the women—it was good, solid, realistic observation.

Proof? By means of all the millions of words and thousands of intimate personal details brought out by the four hundred questions, the examiner was able at the end to form a pretty accurate estimate of the degree of satisfaction which these men and women had actually found in their married lives—quite apart from what they preferred to think for themselves. Fifty-one men and forty-five women made the grade; their marriages were successful. Yet, if it had been left to the optimism of the men, seventy-two husbands

would have denied that their marriages were unsuccessful—twenty-one of them with no justification. On the other hand fifty-eight women looked on the bright side of the marriage question—only thirteen more than should have done so. Women live more by their emotions, and sometimes live straighter.

You may think that this is due to the fact that the whole group of men and women did not match up as they might have if they had all been married to one another. Let us look at the records of the fifty-five men and women who did enter the research as couples.

Twenty-five couples had equal grades of satisfaction. In ten couples the husbands were more dissatisfied than the wives. But in the twenty others the wives were more dissatisfied than the husbands. These same men and women had voted on the success of their own marriages much along the lines of the rest of the two hundred.

XI

If we summed up at this point the matrimonial state of the hundred wives, we should have perhaps three main conclusions. And we might be daring enough to add that they are about as true of the large body of intelligent civilized women as of the hundred special guinea pigs of this research.

If we get right down to the one outstanding difficulty of married life for these women, it is the sexual relationship. If we want to add another that seems almost always present as a subject of complaint—though perhaps it is only a handy peg

for hanging a grudge based on some deeper dissatisfaction—it is economic worry. Physical and material troubles, both of them.

If we try to describe the outstanding psychological quality of these women, it is a great sensitiveness—a far greater sensitiveness than in men. More of them say everything is wrong. They see greater dissatisfactions. They see far more difficulties. They particularize very elaborately. They run to extremes in judgment; more women than men confine themselves to a single source of complaint, and yet more women than men turn in a dozen or more criticisms of their husbands. Though the women are more disturbed about sex than are the men, their peculiarly complex and delicate consciousnesses seek a substitute for the purely physical in this matter of affection which the women alone complained about. And yet, for all this array of sensitiveness—which ought to express itself, the average person would say, in an absorption in spiritual values—these women are intent on physical and material troubles far more than the men. And they are extremely realistic in their ability to recognize and admit matrimonial failure where men assume the pose of a sentimental ostrich.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE AND MONEY

Economic friction a handy peg for deeper dissatisfactions. Women sensitive to imagined difficulties. Economic independence as a concomitant of unhappy marriages.

Obviously money plays a big part in married life. Poverty and prosperity must affect any relationship of two human beings, let alone so intimate a one as marriage. The mental attitudes of men and women—instinctive extravagance, instinctive stinginess, natural dependence, combative touchiness, all the quirks of human nature—add their complications to the simple fact of income and expense. Even the cave men faced this problem; for a hard winter or a dearth of game meant something emotional for the Neanderthal husband and wife which finds an exaggerated parallel nowadays in hard times, strikes, a cut in pay or bankruptcy.

Modern life, particularly the life of a great, sophisticated city, provides a fine lot of special complications. Since those days when the advent of machinery brought on the industrial revolution of a century ago, woman's whole place in marriage has been enormously altered on the economic side. She used to run a sort of home-factory for the making of clothes, candles, soap, canned food, and dozens of other things right along side of the nursery. Now she goes out to work for hire in a factory run by some other

woman's husband, or stays home in unnatural, worried idleness. Woman earns money and spends money for the first time in her career. Hence she judges marriage on a wholly new basis —for better or worse. She isn't so dependent on her father or her suitors as she used to be, and she isn't so important to the industrial welfare of the home. The married woman demands or expects money of her own instead of important or vital work in her home-factory. Often she contributes to the support of the family. She isn't so dependent on her husband, and he in turn isn't so dependent on her. The complications of this wage-earning machine-age are almost endless in their bearing on the financial relations of married men and women.

It is an odd fact that all the illumination which the work of Sigmund Freud, founder of psychoanalysis, has brought to human psychology tends first of all to complicate the question of what effect money has on marriage. For Freud has made us see that our financial attitudes aren't the simple, obvious things we imagine them to be. He has shown us that many a man may be stingy or extravagant, not because he was brought up in poverty or affluence, but because his mother bent the forerunners of his sex instincts in an unhealthful way before he was five years old. Further, Freud has shown us why it is that a woman who gets no deep physical satisfaction out of marriage is likely to be extravagant with money, and the explanation lies in what her mother did to warp her infantile equivalents of the sex instinct. And, incidentally, this research has shown that only a third of the women who are conscious of

extravagance enjoy their marriages to the full, while two-thirds of the women who seem fair and balanced in money matters get complete physical satisfaction.

Here is another complication which may prepare your mind for appraising the economic facts of this research. A large number of wives earn enough money to affect seriously the old dependence of the woman on the man. The research showed, curiously enough, that such wives were not as happy as those who were less independent financially. But you must pause and consider whether this may not mean merely that wives who find themselves unhappy in marriage go out seeking the satisfaction of money-making.

II

Before he began this research, the examiner had long felt that money played a most important part in marriage. He believed that a great many marriages were wrecked on either the hardships of inadequate income or the dissipations of too much leisure. The study changed his opinion to a very large degree. These two hundred intimate autobiographies strongly suggest that friction over money is usually a symptom of something else wrong with marriage. It is not necessarily the cause of the trouble.

These interesting documents have turned out, in a sense, to be studies of the child in the man. They emphasize and re-emphasize the fact that things can happen to a boy in the first five or six years of his life which will make it almost impos-

sible for him to find a reasonably satisfying marriage. Let us take a few instances. A boy who is constantly thwarted by his mother in thing after thing which is not important to anyone else but the boy, gets an instinct for resisting thwarters, and a conviction that all women are principally concerned with interfering with him. He carries this attitude over into marriage and instinctively resists his wife. Another boy gets such a violent attachment for his mother that he can only be happy when married to a duplicate of her, and then in adolescence certain tendencies drive him to marry someone as different as possible from the only woman he can be happy with. Other children are made to fear sex so violently that they cannot possibly live comfortably in a relationship based on sex. Fathers who constantly belittle their wives create in the infantile mind of the son a contempt for women which mars his later ability to love and admire any wife—even his neighbor's!

The man—or woman—whose nature has been distorted like this in childhood will be unhappy in married life, and he will be fatally impelled to look for pegs on which to hang his dissatisfactions. He won't even see the fault in himself. He will look for some fault in his wife. Differences of opinion about how to use the family income are some of the handiest pegs available.

It is very difficult and expensive to undo after you are married the harm that your mother or father did to you while you were putting your first six birthdays behind you. Even if you are lucky enough to find a very good psychiatrist, it is sometimes impossible to correct the harm al-

ready done. The ideal thing, of course, is to get yourself cured of those traits which keep you on the lookout for something in your marriage to be discontented about; but, as this ideal can never be fully attained, the wise spouse will give some thought to the possibility that a good many sources of surface discontent are preventable. Since family economics is traditionally one of these sources, an analysis of what a hundred husbands and a hundred wives have to say about money has a practical bearing and perhaps a vital interest for all of us.

III

How many of the two hundred men and women, do you suppose, were living in a state of matrimony aggravated by friction over money? A little over a fifth of them. Some of the forty-two were more irritated than others. Twenty-six men and women answered a short, sharp "Yes" to the question: "Is there much friction between you on account of money?" The rest said "Yes," and then hedged in the direction of a denial.

But how did the men and women compare? Which sex felt more sharply the spurs of economic pressure—the male, ever occupied with the problems, dilemmas, and dangers of money-hunting, or the female, more or less sheltered from the business world and concerned with child-raising and home-making? To an altogether astonishing degree it was the wives who found economic friction in their married lives. Twenty-six people answered an unqualified "Yes" to that question, but only four of them were men. Among those

that hedged the men predominated; yet all told, there were only seventeen husbands who admitted any kind of friction, against twenty-five wives who were unhappy over money matters.

Some of the answers—paraphrased enough to disguise them even from their authors—will inject a little human nature into these statistics, and give you a mental picture of how your spouse may even now be reacting to the money problems that lie between you. A few men penetrated the secret that domestic economics may be merely a peg on which to hang a more general complaint; one of these said: "There has never been much friction. That has all been a by-product of other kinds of irritation." Another man said: "Yes, there's been friction, but the roots of the friction went down into temperamental differences between us —in our sense of the values of life." Most of the answers were more conventional, more limited in outlook, more typical of that insensitiveness to money matters which is commonly attributed to husbands:

"I haven't been successful, and my wife can't forgive that." . . . "Right now I think money is the cause of much unhappiness, though we don't mention it often." . . . "She thinks I am too much of an easy mark with other people. She complains that, when there is a party, I'm always the first one to ask for the check." . . . "We never have any friction except about money." . . . "I don't think we have any real friction, but I'm afraid she'd be a lot happier if I earned more money and was as thrifty as she is." . . . "We don't have any friction except on the evening when I have to write checks for the month's bills.

I get peeved then, though I always realize that I haven't any right to be."

At least one woman knew that "the money friction was a reflection of other things that were wrong." But the bulk of the women took money very seriously, far more seriously than the men: "Money has always made for friction in some way or other." . . . "We don't talk about it much, but he knows I think he ought to show more interest in making a better income." . . . "I'm balled up about money. I don't like to ask him for money for things even when he has told me to get them. It always seems as if when I ask for money for a hat he sits down and starts reckoning his bank account." . . . "I am irritated that he spends as much money on clubs, cigars, and his car as would give me a servant. It made me bitter to have to scrub and do the laundry while he was living the life of a well-fixed bachelor." . . . "Just one thing has made friction between us and that is not having enough money. We've both been getting frightfully sensitive about it. We hadn't realized how important it was—not just having too little money, but the uncertainty of not knowing how long it would keep up." . . . "There's friction when he drops good-paying jobs and takes on non-paying ones." . . . "I think the most irritating thing about our marriage is the struggle for existence." . . . "There has been some friction, but I think there is in most families with small incomes."

Now these two hundred men and women had all been married, but they were not all married to one another. They did not all come in couples. A little more than half of the men who answered

these questions were married to women who were also taking part in this research in marriage. Let us explore the records of these couples and throw out the rest:

Here we find the same phenomena of economically upset women and comparatively comfortable men. Out of the fifty-five wives whose husbands answered the questions about financial friction, eleven said unqualifiedly that there was "much friction on account of money." Only two of their husbands were aware of it, and three more hedged. There was only one husband who recorded friction that his wife was unable to observe. The couples bore out the significant reports of the two hundred men and women *en masse*. Obviously, a large number of such husbands are unable to recognize economic friction when they meet it—or else their wives are seeing phantoms.

So far as these men and women are concerned, economic friction seems to have been more important in early married life than later. And the men snap out of it sooner than the women. The next question in the research shows this. While the first question asked if there were *present* friction, the second asked if there had ever been friction in the past. Where forty-two of the two hundred admitted more or less present friction, almost twice as many reported trouble at some previous time. And here the men stood up pretty well by comparison. There were thirty-eight men who either answered "Yes," or hedged, and there were only forty women. But again the women were far more ready with a downright affirmative. Only four of them hedged, while

sixteen men were uncertain enough to throw in a lot of qualifications.

Ninety-six per cent of the satisfied husbands had found little or no financial friction, against 86 per cent of the satisfied women. Not one man among those who were satisfactorily married reported any present friction over money, while six of the same class of women felt that they and their husbands were at odds over it.

IV

The cause of economic friction isn't easy to spot—which ought to bear out the idea that money matters are merely a convenient peg for the complaints of the unhappy. The answers that the men and women gave to questions about the extravagance of their mates were much too temperate and easy-going. The only illuminating thing about them was that, again, the women were much more sensitive and apprehensive than the men.

The first question on this topic dug into the extravagance of wives. The men were asked if their wives spent more for personal and household things than they considered fair, and the wives were asked if their husbands thought they did. Eighty-two of the hundred men promptly answered "No," but only seventy-five wives were at all confident that their husbands thought them economical. Eight more men qualified their denials, but there were only four women to match them.

In answer to the next question, eighty-seven men said their wives were fair in reference to money matters, but only sixty-six women said as

much for their husbands. To add to this discrepancy, three more men had given wives a good financial character by saying that they were stingy with themselves but fair as regarded others. Not one man said that his wife was generally stingy, but nine women thought their husbands were stingy. Four men said their wives were extravagant, but seventeen women thought their husbands were. Three men said their wives were erratic, and five women made the same charge. Again, the women saw a much blacker picture than the men.

The most interesting angle on marital extravagance came from a question as to what each spouse thought the other thought about him or her. The examiner made the rather astonishing discovery that, although only four men had said that their wives were extravagant, no less than fifteen women went about imagining that their husbands thought them profligate in money matters. On the other hand, the men succeeded in guessing pretty accurately how many wives thought them extravagant.

There are three possible explanations: Perhaps wives are more extravagant than their husbands realize, *and the wives know it.* Perhaps husbands try to keep their wives in check by pretending a great deal of alarm over money-spending. Or else women are much tenser about money matters, much more sensitive, and apprehensive of criticism than any mere man appreciates.

V

How far is economic friction due to the size of the income? If a man earns less than five thou-

sand dollars a year, is he more likely to be unhappy in his marriage than he would be if he earned more? With the men of this research the size of income seemed to make very little difference. Fifty men earned more than five thousand a year, and fifty earned less. Twenty-six of the richer men turned out to have satisfactory marriages, and twenty-five of the poorer. The largest difference—and it wasn't very large—came in the men who were separated from their wives or divorced.

The pay envelope does seem to affect wives—or at any rate the hundred wives we are dealing with. Twenty-seven wives of the richer husbands were happy in their marriages, but there were only eighteen poor but happy wives against the twenty-five poor but happy husbands. To sum it up in a different way, 52 per cent of the prosperous men were happily married against 50 per cent of the not-so-prosperous. Among the women the figures were 54 per cent against 36 per cent. To these women there was something of importance in the pay envelope.

VI

The income may be large or the income may be small, yet a husband or a wife may find plenty of dissatisfaction in the way that the income is managed. A small income fairly distributed between the two of them might prove far less troublesome than twenty thousand dollars a years controlled by a niggardly husband who doles out even the household expenses grudgingly.

There are three main ways of dividing a family income. One is the old-fashioned system of the

husband's taking charge of all the money, paying all the bills, and doling out funds to the wife as she asks for them. Another is a little more modern—the setting aside of an allowance for the wife, or perhaps the use of a complete budget system. The third is more apt to be found in matings where feministic theories are prominent; here there is a joint bank account or the wife handles all the money.

Sixty-six of the men and women of this research ran their finances on the oldest plan—no allowance for the wife. Seventy-three had arrangements involving some sort of allowance or budget. Fifty-four went on the joint bank account or partnership basis. There were a few that could not be easily classified.

As far as the examiner could judge, the method of handling the family funds bore a certain relation—though not a very marked relation—to the satisfaction of these men and women in their marriages. Forty-nine per cent of the men and 55 per cent of the women were fundamentally dissatisfied with their marriages by and large. Husbands who gave allowances were a little better satisfied than the average, and wives who received allowances were a little less satisfied. The men and women who shared their funds on a partnership basis were 5 per cent more dissatisfied than the average. The old-fashioned arrangement of no allowance at all showed the most striking difference. The wives were 5 per cent *more* satisfied, and the men 7 per cent more satisfied. In other words, allowances seemed to make little difference, husbands and wives who shared alike were less happy, and those who threw economic

independence out of the window were the most contented of all.

This may merely mean, of course, that couples who are naturally and instinctively happy together will not bother their heads about modern methods of handling family finances. Complicated attempts to avoid unfairness and possible friction over money may be only for those who feel uncertain enough of their happiness to need it.

Test out these three financial systems by what these men and women said about friction over money matters, and we get another piece of interesting evidence that money may be merely the peg for general complaints. A sixth of the men and women living by the allowance system reported financial friction, and also a sixth of the men living by partnership. But a quarter of the women who enjoyed joint bank accounts and a quarter of the men who gave no allowances were in financial altercations, while a third of the women in complete economic subjection found this condition something to talk about resentfully. These last might be happier than the rest, but they were happier not because of the money arrangement, but in spite of it. Their relations to their husbands were sound on other scores. Would a joint bank account have made their physical or temperamental satisfaction any less?

Incidentally, the research brought out that 80 per cent of the women kept within their allowances when they had any. A half of the men and women had used the budget system, and half of those that had used budgets found them unsuccessful or a nuisance.

VII

A wife with an allowance is one thing. A wife with her own income—earned by her own work outside the home—is another. The common supposition these days is that a wife who earns her own living is likely to be happier personally and also happier in marriage than a wife wholly dependent on her husband. At least that is the "modern" view of it. As this research had to do in large proportion with the kind of people who hold this view, the information on this point seems particularly significant; for the modern view seems to be a little lacking in supporting fact.

In discussing friction over money matters a certain number of men and women brought up troubles over the wife's earning money. None of the men referred very heatedly to the subject, however. One said: "My wife has resented some of my activities because she has contributed to the family finances." Another said: "There was a good deal of friction. This seems strange to me, but I think it amounted to this—she always wished to be economically independent and the child prevented it. There wasn't friction so much as continual disappointment on her part because she wasn't earning some of our income."

Here are paraphrases of two comments by women which show the very opposite side of the problem. One said: "He thought I ought to go out and earn money." Another said: "Shortly after we were married the necessity for my contributing anything to the family income stopped and I quit my job. Now he throws it up to me that I'm living on his money."

It is a little hard to say just how much of an income a wife has to have to make its weight felt by the husband. A simple approach is to divide the women on the basis of no earnings at all against any earnings no matter how small. This produces a group of about thirty-five wage-earning wives and a group of about sixty-five who never earned a penny. Test these wives—and the husbands, too—as to how satisfied they are with their marriages, and the results are highly interesting.

The ultra-feminist will not be at all surprised to find that the husbands whose wives earn nothing are far more content with their marriages than the husbands of wage-earners. Sixty-one per cent of the husbands with dependent wives are satisfied, against only 44 per cent of the other husbands. *Ergo,* man wants to keep woman in subjection, and he is happiest when she hasn't the slightest shade of economic independence.

But what about the wives? With no regard whatever for feminist theory, they agree with the men—and even go them one better. Sixty-three per cent of the dependent wives proved satisfied, while only 25 per cent of the wage-earning women found their marriages distinctly comfortable.

The research provided another way of testing this matter. There were two questions which tried to learn how far men were annoyed by having their wives help them support the family. The men were asked: "Does your wife ever make you feel uncomfortable because she contributes toward the family support or her own support out of money of her own?" The women were asked if they believed they made their husbands

uncomfortable by helping out financially. Thirteen of the men admitted that at one time or another they had felt uncomfortable over this, but only eight declared emphatically that they were uncomfortable at the present moment. Fifteen women believed their husbands had been made uncomfortable, and all fifteen said so emphatically, and for the present moment. Again the women were exaggerating in numbers and vehemence the replies of the men.

In their actual answers the men were almost tepid on the subject. One replied: "Not a bit. I'm rather proud that she can make money of her own. It makes her feel that she is not a mere shadow of a man. We're each doing our share in the different activities necessary to carry on a home." Another said: "I'd like her to do more of it. I have no pride in wanting to furnish the money she spends." Here is a man who was a shade displeased: "At times I feel uncomfortable. She has her own money, and I can't tell her not to waste it." Another answered: "She has contributed a great deal more than I have to the support of the family, and she has done it with a fine spirit that everything she has is mine. But I have certain feelings of injured pride because my earnings aren't enough." And here was the conventional he-man: "She doesn't try to make me uncomfortable, I know. But I dislike very distinctly the fact that she went to work."

The replies of the women were far more variegated, sensitive, and vehement: "He has always had a fit when I got a big order. He has always had a fit over my earning anything in any way." . . . "I was sublimely happy during the year I

worked." . . . "I suppose I made him uncomfortable the first few years without intending it. If the subject ever comes up I have to appear pretty disinterested." . . . "I try not to make him feel uncomfortable. I think a man does feel uncomfortable if his wife helps him support the family. He's extravagant in little things, and I hate to see him not doing his share toward supporting the family." . . . "I often pride myself on being able to make him uncomfortable because I can support myself." . . . "I thought if I did things for him he would love me more. But I think, instead, he has accepted things and resented, too." . . . "If I didn't have any money of my own he'd be more ambitious." . . . "God knows, I'm afraid I have made him uncomfortable. Men are so sensitive about that. You have to walk a tight rope to keep them from feeling uncomfortable. He has a theory that women expect the men to support them, and I guess that bothers him." . . . "I think my husband has the feministic idea about this even stronger than I have. We both feel a wife ought to be contributing to her own support. Sometimes I'm very uncomfortable about not earning anything." . . . "My husband is very modern. Instead of feeling uncomfortable because I help, he agrees with the partnership idea. He feels that this age is unfair to men, because it gives women a monopoly of leisure." . . . "I should feel humiliated if I had been the one to be supported. I wouldn't want to be supported by a man."

Now there were not only wage-earning wives in this research. There were also wives who contributed an inherited income to the family support

but did not go out to work. From these cases we may get a suggestion as to how important the *source* of a woman's income may be in affecting her husband's happiness and her own. There were twenty women who had had unearned incomes totaling more than $500 over the period of their marriages, and twenty-four men with wives in this class. These men were happier than the husbands of wives who went out to work and only a shade below the average for the whole hundred: they showed 50 per cent of happy marriages. The stay-at-home women with unearned incomes were even happier—60 per cent—though not quite so happy as the wholly dependent women. The comparison is perhaps clearer in the following table:

	Per Cent of Happy Husbands	*Per Cent of Happy Wives*
Where wives were wholly dependent	61%	63%
Where wives contributed income but did not earn money	50%	60%
Where wives earned money	44%	25%

This pattern is plain enough. It may be merely the pattern of a passing generation, a generation taught in childhood that woman's place is the home; but, at any rate, it is the pattern of these two hundred people of the second quarter of the twentieth century. The men and women are happiest where the wives are wholly dependent financially. The men don't object to receiving money from their wives—for these men are average happy. The women who center their lives about the home are happy to contribute some financial aid from inherited income, and they may be

happy, too, to know that they stay with their husbands of their own free will and not because of an inability to support themselves. But the women who give time and energy to money-making do not show happy homes. The difficulty seems, perhaps, to arise not from economic independence so much as from the desire to work outside the home. Economic independence looks more like the consequence of an unhappy marriage than its cause, and yet we cannot definitely say. Here we have the old dilemma of the hen and the egg. We cannot know whether the economically independent egg hatches a dissatisfied hen, or the dissatisfied hen lays an economically independent egg. But we do know that the hen is far more interested in egg-laying than the rooster. She is quite emotional on the subject. You have heard her cackle.

VIII

It was rather surprising to learn that almost a third of the men and women had saved nothing during married life. It was still more surprising to discover that seven more men and fifteen more women didn't know whether they had saved anything. And perhaps the biggest surprise—and the most satisfactory—was that the blame didn't rest on the wives. Twelve women said it was the husband's fault, and a dozen husbands admitted that it was their own fault. Six wives were equally ready to accuse themselves, but only four husbands pointed the finger of accusation at their wives. Nine men and eight women said both of the spouses were to blame.

If somebody has to be blamed for the failure of

these men and women to save a reasonable amount of money, the examiner believes that the fault must be laid at the doors of his own profession. It is the doctors' fault. They levy an enormously large tax on married couples. After the formal study was over the examiner extended it informally, and in the course of his inquiries he found these men and women constantly referring to the fact that they had been kept in debt by doctors' bills. Where the average income of these couples was less than five thousand a year the doctors who treated them undoubtedly earned far more than most of these laymen without having any greater ability or longer apprenticeship. The doctor who earns $25,000 a year is no better equipped and no more successful in achieving results than the $5,000 college professor, or the engineers, artists, teachers, research workers, and writers among the hundred men of this investigation.

The question whether men and women who save are more happily married than those who do not showed the same result as most of the other questions involved in the economic side of this research. The women exaggerated the conclusions of the men.

Not so many of the happily married were to be found among the men and women who had saved nothing. Less than 37 per cent of the men who hadn't saved could be listed as satisfied with their marriages. And the women whose husbands hadn't saved showed a still smaller percentage—32 per cent. Lack of saving appeared to be tied up with marital unhappiness, and the women exaggerated this more than the men.

IX

By and large, this research seems to show three things about money and marriage.

It shows, first of all, that money is a less important factor in married unhappiness than the examiner had believed.

It shows, in the second place, that women put much more store by money than men do. Apart from the general impression that you must have gained from the evidence, figures already quoted in chapter two suggest that wives are more likely to go on loving men who bring home the bacon. Fifty-five per cent of the women married to business men were happy, while no other class came nearer than 45 per cent, and the average of all the rest was still lower.

It shows, further—and here is where husbands can learn something of practical value from the research—that women are far more sensitive than men to all these matters of money. They are more conscious of friction over finances. They are unhappier over small incomes and the threat of poverty. They are absurdly apprehensive that their husbands think them extravagant. They are sensitive about economic dependence, and yet money-earning seems to make them unhappier in marriage than their husbands. They are unhappier over the failure to save money and they are readier to blame themselves for it.

The obvious conclusion—which every husband should take to heart—is not that the old economic order is the only possible order in marriage. It is rather that a hundred other things—some far back in the past—are making trouble which men

and women blame on money, and that men must exert the greatest amount of thought and consideration to do away with all the irritations over money which go to complicate man and woman's already very complicated difficulties over marriage. There is no general recipe. Every case is a special case, especially created by a father or a mother a generation ago.

CHAPTER VI

THE SEXUAL SIDE

Permanence and periodicity of desire in women. Birth control a spiritual necessity. Mutuality of desire. The under-sexed, the over-sexed, and the resulting unhappiness.

There is plenty of friction in married life quite apart from troubles over the purely sexual side. To many people the non-sexual difficulties bulk much larger than those that arise when a man and a woman try to bring into harmony the demands, capacities, habits, prejudices, and antagonisms involved in the intimate sexual adjustment of marriage. Indeed most of the men and women of this research were inclined to look elsewhere for the main source of their troubles. Yet it would take a very prejudiced and a very reckless psychiatrist to say that most married friction doesn't find its source in sexual maladjustment. At any rate, the frictions which arise from other difficulties would be ignored in many, many cases if the sexual relation itself were satisfactory.

The State takes a very odd attitude about the physical side of marriage. It insists, rightly enough, that the contracting parties must effect a permanent union. Backed by the Church with its prescriptions and prohibitions and by the tribe with its conventions, it asks that this permanent union shall also be harmonious. This is necessary in order that the child shall have the best possible chance for right development. The only condition on which the State will wave per-

manence is evidence—very striking evidence—that the union has become so discordant that the child as well as the man and the woman will suffer harm if they remain a unit. At various times and in various ways the State has taken action to safeguard this harmony. In England at the beginning of the twentieth century a husband was not permitted to beat his wife with any stick larger in diameter than his thumb; in most parts of America he is not allowed to beat her at all; and certain legislators have made mental cruelty a cause for divorce. But the only action that the United States and most other nations have taken regarding the problem of the sexual adjustments of marriage is to forbid its solution. They have banned all information that leads to harmonious and healthy sex life through birth control.

The thing would not be so difficult if we belonged to the lower animals instead of the higher. Because we share with apes, monkeys, and baboons, the distinction of being primates, we cannot use sex merely to bring progeny into the world and then forget all about it. The primates happen to have a great deal more in common than certain anatomical peculiarities which permit them to walk erect, provide them with thumbs and finger nails and milk teeth, and cause the offspring to be born one at a time in a completely helpless condition. These common oddities are matched by similarities in mental equipment. We primates not only lead our fellow-animals in intelligence; we also have more varied and plastic emotional lives. This comes out with particular sharpness in sex. Our females are the only animals nursing their young for whom sex has any

importance outside of reproduction. Among the cattle, the dogs, the cats, the rodents, and the rest, the females are completely uninterested in sex except at brief, specific periods when they are in a physiological condition to conceive, and the males are only aroused by the female's provocative condition. At all other times these animals are sexless, unless we cite as exceptions that the females are mothers and, in many cases, enjoy certain immunities granted them by the males of the tribe.

With primates it is different. The females are sexually responsive and sexually provocative at all times, except for a brief period of a few weeks or a month or two just before the birth of the young. She-monkey, she-baboon, she-ape, and she-man—they are all alike in refusing to lock up the most urgent and colorful of their emotions between the periods of physiological preparedness for conception.

It might be easier to live—though much less interesting—if things were otherwise. Yet we need not altogether regret this peculiarity of woman. Charlotte Perkins Gilman once observed in a feminist poem that a female fox is a fox, but a woman is never a man. She might better have hymned the difference between a woman and a vixen. Out of her difference from the fox far more than from the man a considerable part of civilization and many of its arts have arisen.

It takes very little of the special intelligence of primates to see that in this chronic passion of woman lie immense possibilities for good and evil—especially so far as marriage is concerned. And also that much investigation and thought—scientific investigation like this present research

and as straight thinking as we are all capable of —ought to be devoted to the facts, the problems, and the possible solutions involved in woman's special capacity for physical love.

II

The first fact that we can observe after we have noted woman's chronic excitability is a modification of it. The females of Primatia show one degree of kinship with their sisters of the lower orders. At any rate, many of them do. The majority of women feel a periodicity of desire in the sense that there are times when they are distinctly more responsive than others. Seventy-three of our hundred women had noted this in themselves, nineteen had not, and eight were uncertain about it. Contrary to the findings of lay writers—who generalize, of course, from non-controlled observation—only one woman had marked this time of maximum desire as occurring midway between her monthly periods; and she hadn't observed this fact about herself until she had read Dr. Marie Carmichael Stopes' book, "Married Love," which locates one peak of passion in the mid-month. The remainder of the seventy-three said that it occurred at menstrual time. These located it as follows:

25—just after their period
21—just before and just after
14—just before
6—during their period
3—during and just after
1—just before, during and just after
1—just before and during
1—either just before or just after

The practical value of such knowledge lies in matching the first intercourse to the woman's time of greatest desire and continuing this matching with great care if the woman's reaction to sex is blocked by some psychological influence in her past. The day of marriage ought to correspond to the time of fullest desire. And couples who find trouble with sexual adjustment ought to see that during this period they avoid undue fatigue, family jars, and all other interferences with fully satisfying and releasing physical relations. It is then that the woman who is seeking to overcome a chronic sexual inadequacy ought to try out such measures as may be recommended to her for correcting this defect.

It is important to remember that all this deals with the time of *maximum* desire. For most women desire is either constantly present or can be aroused at any moment, whereas in the lower animals it is definitely absent except in connection with menstruation, and the female will resist intercourse at any other time. In the case of many women, the maximum period is only observable if they are separated from their husbands for a considerable length of time.

III

Indeed the sex desire of the females of Primatia is so generally present that even during gestation they are ready for intercourse. It is only a cruel superstition that physical relations are either undesired by the woman or hurtful to her during pregnancy. Unlike female cats, dogs, rats, and horses, primates normally need and desire sex

life until within a few weeks or, at most, two or three months of childbirth. There are, of course, exceptional cases in which continence must be observed from the beginning, but these are almost certain to be detected by the family physician, who can give due warning. For the vast majority the only rule to follow is this simple one: Let the physical relation during the wife's pregnancy be regulated exclusively by her own desire and comfort. Misguided persons who ask: "Do you mean to say that there are women who continue physical relations after pregnancy?" should be referred to the women of this research. Out of the eighty-one who had been pregnant, seventy-five had had continued intercourse, and one had had it after the first pregnancy but not after the second.

As to desire during pregnancy, twenty-eight women said it was not essentially affected, twenty-three said it increased at various times, seventeen said it decreased, and only one said it decreased very greatly. When the women were asked if intercourse during pregnancy was agreeable or repulsive, forty-seven said they found it agreeable, six said it was "not repulsive," and only twelve said it was more or less disagreeable or repulsive. Fifty-seven women definitely denied that intercourse had been harmful in any way. The fifteen who found it harmful or disagreeable reported that they had felt minor unpleasant results, such as nausea, tiredness, discomfort, mental fear.

IV

Obviously we must grant that for men and women sex desire is more or less constantly pres-

ent during, at any rate, the first half of married life. And we must grant also that it is most imperious at the time of the woman's moon-month when intercourse is most liable to cause conception. The consequences are threefold: The couple must have a safe, efficient, and unobstructive method of preventing conception. Or, they must rear ten to fifteen children. Or they must so limit their physical relations as to cause serious frustrations and harmful emotional tensions, which are bound to lead to unhappiness and perhaps the destruction of their love and their marriage. The last, of course, is merely inefficient, destructive and anti-social birth-control under the disguise of continence.

Nobody seriously suggests that the health of a woman—and her mental peace and the peace of her marriage—should be endangered by a string of a dozen pregnancies. Except for a few fanatics—now happily negligible—everyone knows that the sex needs of a married couple cannot be met if they function solely for the purpose of bringing children into the world. Birth control—the most revolutionary invention of any century, Shaw might as well have said—is an inescapable necessity. It is, indeed, an inescapable fact. And yet birth control as such has the status of the brewery and the distillery in the United States. It is illicit. Like all illicit projects, its problems cannot be discussed in the only way that will insure their solution. Birth control methods—despite the wise and persistent efforts of their advocates—are still far from adequate to the needs of men and women who must lead a consistent and healthful sex life if they are going to

make their union a healthy, happy, and harmonious thing. It is unlikely that we shall ever have a really satisfactory contraceptive until a country as rich in scientific and inventive resources as the United States can have it legally. Then only will science work properly upon it.

V

This research brings us considerable evidence to allay any fears on the wisdom of birth control. In particular, it indicates that there is little danger of the educated woman not having children if the choice lay entirely with her. It is, we may assert, the exceptional woman who doesn't want to have as many children as her husband's resources and her own health will permit. Only four of our hundred women said without reservation that they did not wish to have children. The others pointed out reasons why they must accept frustration of their natural desire for motherhood, or—as in the case of the majority—said that they desired and hoped that this experience would come to them or be repeated, when and if they could afford it. Here is a table summarizing their answers to the question, "Do you wish to have children?"

4 women said—no
18 women said—they didn't wish more than they now had
4 women said—they were uncertain
55 women said—yes
9 women said—yes, with reservations
2 women said—yes, not now but later
7 women said—they formerly desired children, but not now
1 woman said—she was now sterile

In New York, with its high rents and its inescapably costly standard of living, it is doubtful if a married couple with less than $500 a month has the right to have children. More than half the men and women of this research had less than this, and yet the hundred wives had already borne one hundred and sixty-one children and the parents with less than $500 a month had almost half of these. Since the research was completed the examiner has been constantly getting news of more babies born to the women he studied. It is his belief that birth control is far less conducive to "race suicide" than are the fees of the obstetricians. Merely to pay the doctor for a few hours of his time will wipe out the savings of months, sometimes of years. And on top of this comes the appallingly high cost of hospital room and care.

VI

The men and women said nothing to suggest that friction over the question of having children is a frequent or serious factor among the educated class. Now and then a husband's groans at the thought of doctors' and hospital bills had to be entered as something less than an unqualified denial of friction. Yet, all told, only nine men and nine women reported any such irritations.

The examiner remembers a very different picture in his boyhood. In the middle-western community where he lived families of eight, ten, or even a dozen children were not uncommon. One very prolific woman had sixteen living offspring. Now the husbands in these families were the subject of the almost universal disapproval of the

village women. If a man's wife had borne him twelve children, they automatically classed him as a selfish brute. Of course they knew only the most primitive of birth control methods; there was a heavy toll of death among the women, for they were much given to inexpert attempts at abortion. Death was not the only thing that ended the happiness of their youthful marriages. Naturally after five or six children had come, each pregnancy reduced the spousal harmony. The men were rather philosophical about it. "My woman thinks they is another one on the way, so, of course, she's kinda cross with me. Bu-ut"—philosophically—"she'll git over it." That was not an infrequent confidence of one man to another.

The women of the research presented a very different picture. When they were asked if they had felt cross towards their husbands because they had caused them to be pregnant, seven out of the eighty-one answered No without qualification. Only six said Yes as positively. The reason wasn't far to seek. The bulk of the children had been welcome. In the case of the men and women who were not sterile, or who did not want more children, some kind of contraceptive was invariably used.

It is a matter of common knowledge that birth control is practiced by most married people, and so our statistics on this point disclose merely what the reader might expect. Only eight of the hundred men and thirteen of the hundred women said they were not using some method of contraception. These men and women included those who, at the moment, wished to have children, and those

who were sterile or married to the sterile. Only three men and six women said they had never used contraceptives, and the reason assigned was sterility. In other words, *not a single man or woman in the total group had refrained from the use of birth control methods at some time except those who had found it unnecessary because of infertility.* The italics are not intended to impress the average reader with a surprising discovery, but only to suggest that he might demand of his state and federal representatives a little less cant and hypocrisy in the matter of birth control legislation.

Another investigation—Dr. Katharine Bement Davis' questionnaire on birth control—shows somewhat the same picture. Out of the 985 women who answered, 74 per cent admitted the use of contraceptives. In all probability this percentage is lower than ours solely because her questions were answered by a group which included more women who had reached the age when child-bearing is impossible.

VII

If, as we know, almost every married couple deliberately limits the size of the family, and if, as we believe, moronic legislators and reactionary clergymen can never reduce the extent of this practice, then the real issue seems to be defined for us. It is not, "How can we force 99 per cent of the married population to accept a priestly prohibition?", but, rather, "What can we do to prevent spouses from using harmful contraceptive measures?"

Of course people will use the best birth control measures that they know. Since our two hundred were educated, intelligent residents of the not wholly unsophisticated metropolis of America, it follows that they had a far better than average chance to find out what was safest. Exactly one-half of each sex said they had a contraceptive that they felt was safe.

Just how effective existing contraceptives may be is suggested by the fact that 21 per cent of our sophisticated New York women had found it necessary at one time or another to have abortions performed. Two more had used drugs that may or may not have discontinued suspected pregnancies.

Of course abortions are always dangerous, and, even if they were not, a very real moral issue enters here. In a sense, deliberate abortion is a kind of murder. A living thing which would soon appear in the world as a human being is deprived of life. The guilt—if there *is* guilt—lies, not with the potential mother who dares not bring a new life into being in the face of insufficient economic resources for its support, but rather with the people who make effective their opposition to the development of effective birth control. Safety is a serious matter not only because the aim of limiting offspring will be defeated if the contraceptive fails, but also because the fear of failure may have bad psychological effects. We know that it is distinctly unhealthful to indulge in intercourse under conditions which interfere with the complete release of the nervous tension engendered by the act. We also know that fear of pregnancy is unfavorable to the release of this tension.

Such fear is sure to be present when there is doubt as to the efficacy of the contraceptive.

A contraceptive must not only be safe. If the sex act is to relieve the accompanying tension and, in particular, to assure the woman's reaching the normal climax, then the contraceptive must not interfere in any way with the ease and pleasure of the physical relationship. Only twenty-two men and thirty-one women said without qualification that they had found a contraceptive that thus fitted their particular case.

Of course, the contraceptive that seems safe and satisfactory to one person may not seem so to another. This opens up room for more friction. At the time of the research eighty-three men and eighty-nine women no longer had disagreements on that score.

VIII

A safe and satisfactory contraceptive will not, of course, clear up all the difficulties and maladjustments in the physical relationship of husband and wife. There will still be a number of psychological, temperamental, or physical differences between them which will interfere with a perfect adjustment. Some of these differences are established at birth, and almost all the rest are so deeply ingrained into our natures during the impressionable years of childhood that their removal is next to impossible. Lack of a satisfactory contraceptive colors the facts in this research, but the general trend of the sex lives of these people shows a great many of the fundamental differences and difficulties at work.

Obviously, in an ideal physical relationship desire and response should be mutual. Most of our

men and women recognized this. Most of them strove to reach the ideal, and a large proportion succeeded. Nevertheless, there were many, many cases in which wives complained that they often submitted to their husband's will in this matter merely to keep peace in the family. There seemed to be a tendency on the part of a good many otherwise happy wives to feign a response out of an amiable concern for their husband's comfort. A few husbands proved to be reluctant. The following table—based on a question asking if the physical relationship was the result of mutual desire—brings out the fact that more women than men reported wifely submission:

23 men and 21 women said—it is always mutual
39 men and 27 women said—usually mutual; wife occasionally submits
5 men and 1 woman said—more often mutual than in the past
9 men and 4 women said—often mutual but wife often submits
7 men and 21 women said—wife usually or very often submits
0 men and 2 women said—wife now submits; formerly mutual
4 men and 8 women said—wife always submits

Sometimes, but much more rarely, the husband was the submissive one, and the most submissive husbands ranged from thirty-seven to forty-eight in age:

3 men and 2 women said—mutual, but wife's desire is more frequent
0 men and 1 woman said—mutual, but husband often refuses
6 men and 2 women said—husband sometimes submits
1 man and 1 woman said—husband usually submits
3 men were uncertain

University of Southern Californ

It is evident that the reluctant wife and the over-eager husband are by no means a fiction of Victorian novelists. This appears again from the answers to the question, "Does your spouse ever seem to desire the physical relationship for his (or her) own sake?" In other words, does the mate show an active rather than a submissive interest? Ninety-two women said Yes without qualification, but only sixty-six men felt that their wives were really positive in their desire. Most of those that hedged and qualified referred to infrequency rather than a total lack of desire. Only four men and two women said their mates never wanted the physical relationship with them.

As to frequency of desire, here is a summary of the answers to the question, "Is your spouse willing to have the physical relation with you as frequently as you wish to have it?":

10 men and	15 women	said—yes, spouse desires it more often
44 men and	53 women	said—yes
20 men and	7 women	said—yes, usually
4 men and	4 women	said—yes, now, but not formerly
5 men and	5 women	said—not always
16 men and	14 women	said—no
1 man and	2 women	gave inconclusive answers

IX

Besides the difference between desire and willingness, there is also the difference between both these attitudes towards sex and the ability to have intercourse. To clear up this point the examiner asked: "Are you *able* to have the physical relation with your spouse as frequently as your spouse desires it?" For a man this ability is a

very real and a very necessary physical thing. The woman is capable of a physical relationship at any time, even under anaesthetics; yet for the women of this research the examiner feels that the phrase, "able to have the physical relation" meant, "able to have sufficient desire to make response possible." This consideration, along with the fact that women are apt to have a certain periodicity of desire, accounts for the rather large number of women whose answers in the following table would otherwise set them down as physically or psychically abnormal.

64 men and	49 women	said—yes
1 man and	0 women	said—able but unwilling
3 men and	4 women	said—able now but not always in the past
12 men and	10 women	said—usually but not always
0 men and	2 women	said—yes, until recently
17 men and	28 women	said—no
3 men and	7 women	gave inconclusive answers

Here the men and women are answering for themselves, they are not reporting the behavior of their mates. The fact that fifty-one women appear to confess an abnormal and practically impossible state of impotence need only detain us long enough to observe that this question was one which is inapplicable to women and should not have been asked of the wives.

The thirty-five men who could not deny some degree of impotence with their wives must give us pause. During the examination of the hundred men and in his ordinary clinical work the examiner has noted that the late thirties appear to be the period of life during which men are especially apt to complain of failing potency. Many guesses

are possible, but we have none to offer with any degree of conviction. Here are a few that may repay further investigation: the debilitating effect of indoor life; the failure of bootleggers to remove all the poisons from denatured alcohol before using it in making liquor; excessive smoking; insufficient sleep; the severe strain involved in meeting the economic demands imposed on husbands; and, so far as men are impotent with their wives but not with other women, placing their mates in competition with younger and less familiar women, and guilt reactions following adulteries.

The research gives no light whatever on the last two possibilities. Twenty-one men had difficulties over potency with their wives, and only eight had such trouble with other women. But this means nothing, for the men who were competent in their adulteries were also competent with their wives.

X

The waning of physical attraction within a marriage is common enough. Ordinarily we think of the wife's losing desirability in the eyes of the husband, rather than the other way round; but, so far as this research goes, the truth seems just the opposite. Eighty men said their wives had not ceased to be sexually attractive and six of these said they had increased in attractiveness. Only sixty-six women still found their husbands sexually attractive—which may, perhaps, be accounted for by the fact that almost half the women lacked full physical satisfaction in marriage and tended to look for it elsewhere. Here are some

facts brought out by a question asking when the mate ceased to be sexually attractive:

2 men and 5 women said—spouse was never sexually attractive
0 man and 2 women said—ever since marriage
1 man and 1 woman said—very soon after marriage
2 men and 1 woman said—during the first year of marriage
0 man and 4 women said—during the second year of marriage
2 men and 5 women said—from two to five years after marriage
0 man and 1 woman said—during the first pregnancy
3 men and 0 woman said—after the birth of the first child
2 men and 1 woman said—"after I had had extra-marital sex experience"
0 man and 1 woman said—"when my husband's alcoholism became severe"
0 man and 1 woman said—"when I had a nervous breakdown"
0 man and 1 woman said—"he loses attraction for me only when there has been too prolonged proximity"
6 men and 0 woman said—"it was a gradual thing"

Whatever may really account for the waning of physical attractiveness, the men and women gave some interesting and highly individual reasons:

12 men said—desire for variety, being with her constantly
7 men said—her lack of sexual responsiveness
2 men said—her unfair treatment of him
2 men said—her infidelity
2 men said—she got too fat
1 man said—he likes them fatter
1 man said—his experience with other women
1 man said—he ceased to love her
1 man said—her mental immaturity
1 man said—her psychoneurosis
1 man said—her vulgarity in love

1 man said—her tiredness
1 man said—her hair turned grey
1 man said—she became slatternly
1 man said—she became physically flabby
1 man said—her pregnancy
6 women said—his disagreeable temperament
4 women said—greater satisfaction with a lover
3 women said—his physical unattractiveness
2 women said—too much intimacy
2 women said—he is not a good lover
2 women said—he seems to lack desire
1 woman said—his lack of affection
1 woman said—incompatibility
1 woman said—he has no concept of her soul
1 woman said—he has an unpoetic soul
1 woman said—he isn't masculine
1 woman said—his interest in another woman
1 woman said—his freedom in touching other women
1 woman said—his lack of courtship
1 woman said—his alcoholism
1 woman said—his lack of cleanliness
1 woman said—fear of pregnancy

XI

A good deal of friction and a good deal of marital unhappiness may arise where husbands and wives are not well mated as to the amount of sex desire they feel. Here we have a table of the husband's or wife's estimate of whether the mate was under-sexed, normal, or over-sexed, and the degree of marriage happiness; remember that the judgment of each person is relative to his own desire.

16 men said mates were over-sexed	6 or 38% were happy
56 men said mates were average.	30 or 54% were happy
24 men said mates were under-sexed	12 or 50% were happy

16 women said mates were over-sexed	5 or 31% were happy
54 women said mates were average	31 or 57% were happy
22 women said mates were under-sexed	4 or 18% were happy

Over-sexed mates produce definitely unhappy marriages. Under-sexed wives leave their husbands only a shade less happy than the average, for a wife can be cold and yet, if she is submissive, she can satisfy her husband. But under-sexed husbands make their wives very unhappy indeed, for then they have little chance for any degree of normal satisfaction.

A sexual phenomenon which makes for maladjustment and certainly does much to lessen the pleasure of women is the general tendency of men to react too quickly in physical intercourse and to end the relation too soon. Eighty-four men confessed that their reactions were quicker than their wives', and eighty-three women corroborated them. Naturally, such a condition calls for deliberate efforts at control, and almost three-quarters of the people reported attempts to retard the premature reaction of the men.

XII

Psychologically, almost all women and many men are badly prepared for the sexual life. During childhood there is ingrained into most of us a feeling that the physical relations of husbands and wives belong somehow in the category of human acts that make for degradation. When we grow up and marry we may accept sex intellectually, but we cannot quite escape this under-

current of taboo from childhood. We cannot face our sex problems openly and sanely. We cannot make proper adjustments. Above all, we cannot indulge easily in the courtship and sexual byplay which may be needed to make the relation satisfactory to ourselves or our mates. The men and women of this research furnished much suggestive and helpful information on their efforts to correct their maladjustments, but, so strong is the unconscious, juvenile prejudice against the whole sexual topic that no matter how serious and dignified a book may be, no matter how free from allusions conducive to sexual immorality, it must omit much that needs to be given frank discussion. Or, as in the present case, it must print such matter in a limited edition.

CHAPTER VII

NEW WIVES FOR OLD—THE HUSBANDS' TALE

How the men would make their wives over, changing temperament first, then physique and habits. Wanted: better tempers, better brains, more passion, less scolding, less talk. Repairs for charms that have withered. Gentlemen do prefer blondes.

"My father used to say that, if he had his life to live over again, the only thing he wouldn't change would be his wife."

That was how one of the hundred men in this research in marriage started to answer a question which began: "If you could make your wife over—" Then he added: "That is probably not true of me."

And it was not true of most of the other men. More than half of them could think of plenty of habits they'd like to change. Sixty per cent wanted to change the physical appearance of their wives. Seventy per cent were critical about their wives' dispositions. And almost 80 per cent knew how to improve on specific mental and temperamental qualities.

The order of these complaints is pretty easy to understand. Men and women marry largely on the basis of the physical appearance of the other person. Habits and dispositions and mental traits are harder to get at and easier to hide—at least in the casual intimacies of courtship. Habits are more easily changed than the shape of a figure or the unconscious quirks of a mind. Habits are more obvious to both parties. They are

easier to point out without argument. Unquestionably the hardest adjustment of all those that marriage calls for lie in the region of temperament, intelligence, selfishness, truthfulness, all the mental habits which have been ingrained in that hidden hinterland of the mind since we were the smallest children.

II

Let us start with habits. One of the early questions in the research asked: "Has your wife any habits to which you object?" Forty-five men promptly said "No," or "Nothing serious," or "Only minor habits." The rest of them made more than a hundred complaints on the subject of nearly twenty habits.

Eighteen of the men objected to some physical habit or mannerism, or something connected with dressing, washing, and so forth. Many of these tricks are laughably trivial, yet you can imagine how their constant repetition at close range can get under the skin. The man whose wife "breathes audibly through her nose" can suffer quite as much as the man whose wife "can't keep her hands out of her hair," though the first husband might easily escape by sending her to a nose specialist for a small operation. From the aesthetic trend of the female hand and the advertising pages of the women's magazines it is a little hard to believe that three or four men had to complain, like this one: "The only habit to which I object is her biting her nails when nervous or tense. I am now getting used to it and she is decreasing it." Another husband who objected to

nail-biting also wished his wife wouldn't "crack her jaws when she yawns." One man said his wife had "an annoying habit of sitting in public with her feet in an awkward position." "She has a habit of standing up before a mirror with her toes turned in," said one man, "and when walking along the street her ankles turn and she falls down." Of course most of the serious complaints in this group had to do with personal cleanliness.

Mental habits came next to the top of the poll with seventeen complaints. What a variety they presented! Many of them were as absurdly trivial as the case of a wife who made a written note of everything she was asked to do, from mailing a letter to sewing on a button. It's a little worse, of course, when "she worries about things that don't happen." More trouble, still, can lurk back of "a tendency to remind me too often—I won't call it nagging, because it isn't—and a habit of remembering things for a pretty long time which might better be forgotten and which only cause mental discomfort by remembering them." And here comes a cause for a great deal of constant irritation: "I may be around for half an hour talking to her, then go to the living room to sit down to read, and during the next half hour she can think of a dozen things for me to do, and I have to leave my reading to do them—a very irritating business." Deception is the most serious charge under mental habits: "She has a tremendous amount of deceit. She'll deceive me at any point where she thinks it will do the smallest imagined good."

The next grand division of complaint—scoring

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY NEW YO

fifteen—was over defects in the wife's attitude towards the husband. It ran from plain selfishness to the kind of desire to absorb his attention which brought up this: "My attitude is that home is a place in which to converse and read and rest and enjoy the escape from business. The way she runs it keeps me busy doing things in the house every second. When I come home I have to start right in helping and never get a second to sit down until late in the evening. It isn't laziness; I'd like freedom to read and study." Here was a man with a pathetic plaint: "Every now and then I unconsciously strike an attitude and she is very quick to puncture it." "I was afraid to take home neckties," said one man, "for fear she wouldn't like them and raise a row."

Thirteen men complained of habits which obviously showed defects in personality or appeared to do so when related to the general situation. There was the husband whose wife "never can shut a door decently. She either has to leave it open or slam it, so I am always getting up and shutting a door after her or else jumping out of my skin." Of course defects in personality depend on the personal taste of the husband. We might not all have to agree with the man who said: "I think she loves dancing and the frivolous side of life too much." Here were two defects in the same wife: "Habitual confusion of humor with what I think is brutality. And she depends on the opinions of other people and accepts the judgment of people who mean nothing to me."

III

Those were the main divisions of bad habits—physical mannerisms, mental habits, the wife's attitude, and defects in personality. They accounted for 60 per cent of the complaints. Then came three divisions with eight complaints each and after that just scattering matters.

Habits that have to do with the routine activities of life brought out some obvious irritants. Socks left undarned in the library; sloppiness in keeping accounts; not allowing enough time to answer letters or do housework—eight men complained of things like these, whereas only one said: "She is much more efficient and punctual than I am, and at times I am a little annoyed at her speed." One husband thought he had really accomplished something toward ending bad housekeeping: "At first she'd throw things wherever they happened to land. Now she is better about this. Last summer I tried to convert her to more orderly habits. When she was sick I used to give her her breakfast and I think my orderliness and precision impressed her." Some of them found their wives much too methodical; the house was not a pleasant, easy place to live in. One man said: "She is too darned fussy about the house."

Eight men thought their wives were habitually unable to make good social contacts. One example will do: "She is extremely self-conscious and bashful in the presence of other people. I suppose you'd call it an inferiority complex."

Eight men seized this opportunity to lodge new complaints about the sexual side of their marriages.

Five men thought their wives had bad habits of extravagance and one of these complained: "I am a little annoyed that she lets the gas stove go on burning when the food is all cooked."

Four men complained of habits which they regarded as coarse or "fast." Three made guarded allusions to their wives' smoking. The modern sanction of this habit appeared to oppress them. One man indicated his diffident antagonism by saying: "She has no bad habits, but unconsciously I object to a very occasional practice of lighting one cigarette from one which is already burning."

IV

There was one question in the research which permitted the answerer to show the fair as well as the black side of the picture: "Describe your wife's disposition as well as you can." The results were too variegated and minutely personal to be quotable, but the comparison which this question offers between man and woman is too sharp to neglect at this point. This is not the fact that the men were less critical than the women—twenty-nine men and seventeen women making no allusion to an undesirable trait. It is rather the greater ability of the women to find both good and bad points:

100 men mentioned a total of	91 good traits or .9 apiece
100 women mentioned a total of	364 good traits or 3.6 apiece
71 men mentioned a total of	72 bad traits or 1 apiece
83 women mentioned a total of	266 bad traits or 3.2 apiece

Thus these women betrayed an ability to particularize which repeated itself all through the research. It is not too wild a guess to say that this tendency looks a good deal like the "talkativeness" which almost all men see in almost all women. And this was one of the major complaints that the men made when they were asked: "What changes would you make in any of the following mental qualities of your wife: Temper? Talkativeness? Thriftiness? Carefulness of dress? Selfishness? Tendency to scold? Intelligence? Social standing? Religious life? Truthfulness? Tendency to flirt? Capacity for showing affection? Strength of physical desire? Vanity? Serious-mindedness?"

Seventy-nine men saw ways of improving their wives along one or more of these lines. Twenty-eight preferred a better temper; twenty-seven, more intelligence; twenty-five, more passion; twenty-four, less scolding; and twenty, *less talkativeness.*

Let us quote a few men on talkativeness—or, if you prefer it, the capacity to particularize: "In telling something she is apt to go into great detail." . . . "All women talk too much." . . . "The tendency to tell every last detail in telling about anything." . . . "Talkativeness is all right if it is timed at the right time—knowing when to talk and when not to." . . . "I'd like her to omit details in talk." . . . "I wish she were less talkative and more conversational."

Of course, there are also men who find their wives too uncommunicative, and would change this in them. One man felt that his wife was neglecting the exercise of intelligence in favor of

housework: "She is willing to pursue a conversation to the point of losing sleep, but she will always interrupt a talk to clear the table, to wash the dishes or be a good hostess." Another man thought that his wife might be improved—if at all—by getting rid of "a certain capacity for silence which does not lend that kind of fire to my personality which it needs."

As a relief to much the usual complaints about bad temper, one man said he would make no changes in his wife's temperament "except to give her capacity for sudden outbursts of anger. She's too restrained, and I think the repression of her anger is not wholesome." Another also wanted to live dangerously: "I was delighted to find she had a real, hot temper. One day she got blazing mad at me and I was delighted. Last week she slapped my face in a perfect frenzy of rage. I wouldn't change that. I'd say she merely needs to learn to control it."

Here are some of the views of some of the twenty-seven men who complained about the intelligence of their wives: "I'd like her a great deal more intelligent." . . . "Her intelligence is all right, but she's too fond of particulars and the subject matter is always the same. Always circling round the family situation or her own profession." . . . "Her intelligence is very good, but in some ways I think it is over-rated. She sacrificed her sister as well as her mother to it. They had to wash dishes and all that sort of thing while she studied and went to college." . . . "If she were more intelligent than she is, then I would feel inferior, and I wouldn't like that." . . . "I

wish she had more abstract intelligence. I wish she could solve puzzles."

V

First a better temper. Then more intelligence. After that a more passionate love. Only three votes separated them all. Another hundred men might alter the order, might move scolding up from fourth place to the lead. But, so far as these husbands went, a quarter of them felt something lacking in the physical desire which their wives felt for them, and five others thought their wives too passionate. Quotation on this topic would be obvious, banal, and a little crude.

Scolding, however, brought out virtuosity of expression even when the answer was negative. "She has no tendency to scold," one husband generously admitted, "although she has a tendency to run the universe sometimes." Most of the twenty-four sufferers from a scolding tongue didn't take it quite so much to heart as the man who said: "Tendency to scold? I certainly would change that. My land, it's unbearable! She's got a tongue that cuts like a two-edged sword." No husband appeared to value the ability to scold, or wished that his too-calm wife would sharpen the edge of her tongue. Temper passes, but the scold is constant.

Women will probably be most surprised over the ability of husbands to pick flaws in the sartorial taste of their wives. And still more surprised to find that four-fifths of those who were critical about this matter thought their wives were not careful enough of their dress. Nineteen of

them complained about this. Only one took the opposite view despite the impatience of all men with the dozens of tiny operations that a woman has to indulge in before she goes out of the house even in the same dress she has been wearing the rest of the day. Five other men were critical of their wives' taste in dress. Here are some variegated comments:

"I never thought she had particularly good taste in dress. I have no confidence in her taste —that it is refined and really superior. There is not the kind of daintiness in her person that I miss somehow." . . . "She is careful enough with her clothes, but perhaps not as eager as she might be to use dress strategically." . . . "Carelessness of dress is something I'd like her to give attention to." . . . "She is very painstaking when she leaves the house, but she doesn't care what she has on in the kitchen." . . . "She tries to be careful about her clothes, but I have to teach her a few things about how to dress." . . . "I wouldn't want her to be any less fastidious about dress than she is, but I wish she would drop 98 per cent of her fussiness about my dress, and that she'd lose most of her craving to have me talk about her dress. She was always seeking expressions of approbation on my part about her clothes." . . . "I wish she were a little less absent-minded and a little more careful not to spot her dress when she is interested in talking as she eats." . . . "I'd change everything in her dress."

VI

On selfishness these improving gentlemen had considerable difference of opinion. Seventeen

thought their wives were too selfish, but nine others criticized them for their unselfishness. Seven of these said they wished their wives could direct their unselfishness into pleasanter and more productive channels. Two husbands wished their mates could be just a little more selfish for their own good. Here was another virtue that got just a little too irritating at times.

Thrift, too, had its devil's advocates. Sixteen men wanted their wives to be more thrifty, but five found the thriftiness of their wives unpleasant because badly directed, and three frankly wished them less thrifty. The ordinary attitude was: "We spend more money and get less for it than any people I have ever known." But one man said: "If anything, I'd have her less thrifty, although in our present circumstances it is very necessary to conserve all our resources." . . . "I enjoy her quality of extravagance," said another. "She is too thrifty," still another remarked, "thank God!"

No one seemed to want his wife less frank and truthful than she was. Fourteen desired some change approaching just a little nearer to truthfulness: "At times I seem to see a certain lack of intellectual honesty—I don't mean exactly that—candor is perhaps a better word." . . . "She is truthful, all right, but she has had hard work trying to be as blunt and frank as I am." . . . "She hasn't the same idea of truthfulness that I have. If a store makes a mistake and undercharges, she'll pay it without making a correction." . . . "She means to be truthful, I suppose, but hasn't enough intelligence to be."

A fifth of the men wanted to improve their

wives' social standing, or perhaps it is better to say their social ease and social avidity: "Her social ease and freedom could be raised a good deal. I'd like to be sure that she could hold her own in the highest social sphere." . . . "I have sometimes wished that she were more willing to put herself out socially, but she is indifferent about that." . . . "I object to her making such efforts to cultivate people whom she feels can lift her up, and I don't like the way she objects to my chumming with people I like who do not add to my social standing."

VII

The question of improving the affectionate relations of the couples brought out very curious answers. Curious, because in answering the first query in the questionnaire: "What is there in your marriage that is especially unsatisfactory to you?" not one man had mentioned the word affection while ten women had complained of lack of this thing in their husbands and three more of lack of it in themselves. Here, however, when the matter was brought directly to the men's attention and they were asked specifically what changes they would like to make in their wives' capacity for showing affection, no less than sixteen wanted to increase this capacity. Most of them were rather calm on the subject; the exception wanted her capacity "tripled—quadrupled." This matter of lack of affection looks like one of the convenient pegs on which—if the thing is called to his attention—a man may hang the inky cloak of his matrimonial despondency. It did not seem a very touchy point with these husbands.

Almost as many of them were complaining that their wives showed too much affection or showed it in the wrong way:

"Her affection is all right. She shows a lot for her mother in a way that she likes and understands, but it is not the understanding kind that I'd like. It is the sloppy kind. I like just a slap on the back or a squeeze of the hand or a glance at the right time." . . . "I resent the way she slops endearments around generally. I don't like the way she uses mushy words in ordinary moments. She uses such terms even when she feels cold toward me. I feel it is just gush and splash and doesn't mean anything. I resent very much her capacity for showing affection—there is too much of it." . . . "My wife has, I am afraid, a little too much capacity for showing affection once in a while. I get a little tired of it."

One of the romantic major superstitions about women is that they are light-minded. If this were true, surely ninety men who had added the higher education to their natural leaning towards sober mental exercise would be complaining vigorously of the frivolousness, as well as mental incapacity, of their wives. As a matter of fact, these men were pretty critical about the intellect of their helpmates, but only three out of the hundred thought their wives not serious-minded enough. A dozen said they were *too* serious-minded, and four more thought there was something wrong about the quality of their serious-mindedness: "She is serious-minded, which I like in her, but I want somebody to talk nonsense to once in a while." . . . "The only trait that I would change is her meticulous attention to detail. She won't

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SCHOOL
OF THEOLOGY LIBRARY

spare herself in the conduct of her household. This might be classed as serious-mindedness." . . . "I'd like her not to be so ponderous-minded without being any less serious-minded."

On vanity nine men were definite enough but rather dull. On religion nine suggested improvements along the lines of a greater and deeper faith, five found too much religion or an unsatisfactory sort of religion in their wives. Here are four comments: "I have never been able to explain just why she dislikes orthodox religion. She hasn't any of the religious fervor so many women have." . . . "Her religious life is conventional—in a tight compartment without any real soul in it—any real depth of feeling about it." . . . "I wish she'd have a little more sympathy with my religious life." . . . "My wife is a little too much of a Methodist to suit me."

The question of flirting brought out as many original and antagonistic points of view as any topic. And this in spite of the fact that only seven men thought their wives too flirtatious, and six thought them not flirtatious enough. "I have been jealous of her tendency to flirt in the past," said one. "I have thought, 'Good Lord, if she'd make as much effort to captivate me as she makes to captivate that man, our troubles would be solved!'" "I wish she'd flirt with me more," another echoed. "She has absolutely no tendency to flirt," said a third, "I have tried to encourage her because it might build up her self-esteem." A fourth observed, "She has not enough tendency to flirt," then he laughed, "not that I'd change it in her." "Flirting?" said a fifth. "She's a corking good flirt."

One husband brought to mind sharply a large variable factor that runs through this whole research. "This question comes just at the wrong time," he said. "We have had an unusually pleasant two weeks together. If you'd asked me just after we'd had a scrap, I probably could have made all sorts of unusual suggestions." Fortunately this sort of variation corrects itself pretty effectively in the case of one hundred men and of such an emotional seesaw as matrimony.

VIII

Here in a table are the principal mental improvements that the hundred men wanted to make in their wives. The numbers represent the number of complaints on each head.

No changes	21
A better temper	28
More temper	2
A better intellect	27
More passionate	25
Less passionate	5
Less scolding	24
Less talkative	20
More talkative	4
Better social standing	20
Less care of dress	19
Better taste in dress	5
Less selfish	17
Unselfishness not well directed	7
More selfish	2
More thrifty	16
Less thrifty	3
Not the right kind of thrift	5
More affectionate	16
Methods of showing affection wrong	8
Less affectionate	4

More truthful or frank	14
Less serious-minded	12
Quality of serious-mindedness wrong	4
More serious-minded	3
More religious	9
Religious life unsatisfactory	5
Less vain	9
More vain	6
Quality of self-esteem wrong	6
More flirtatious	7
Less flirtatious	6

IX

Seventy-nine men proposed three hundred and forty-five changes in the more or less mental traits of their wives—about four apiece. They weren't half so finicky about the appearance of these women. Only sixty-two men stood out for physical improvements designed to increase the beauty of their wives—two alterations per wife.

The explanation, as we have said, is simple enough. The men chose their wives largely on the basis of what they looked like. They found out about their inner emotional equipment later on. Tastes may change, of course, even tastes in beauty. Our couturiers do their best to make fashions in figures as well as in clothes. Once upon a time hips and bosom—and the small waist in between—were at a premium. Now we are slowly emerging from a period when the motto of the fashionable young woman was "no bust oblige." Yet, in spite of all this, each man clings pretty closely to a permanent ideal of feminine beauty. It is a personal ideal, of course. In the main, it goes straight back to the mother of his boyhood. He is likely to change it little during his marriage.

Indeed the physical changes that a man is apt to want in his wife after ten or fifteen years of marriage are only in those parts which time and child-bearing wear upon. The men of this research were mainly in their thirties, and the physical features which they chose to improve in the wives were in the main just those which would naturally tend to deteriorate. In other words, they were to a great extent, trying to recapture for their mates the bloom of youth.

The figure alters towards middle age, growing generally stouter and less shapely. Forty-three men proposed alterations in weight or anatomy, and only eleven thought their wives too thin. Skin and complexion deteriorate with age, and here, too, many changes were proposed—twenty-two altogether. Again more than half of these changes—almost two-thirds in fact—had to do with the fresher color and finer texture of skin which go with youth.

The changes in physical features which remain much the same for thirty years all came out at about 15 per cent. Sixteen men wanted their wives either taller or shorter. Sixteen wanted to change the color or quality of the hair, and fifteen wanted to alter the eyes.

Just here—in these changes in the physical equipment which the wives undoubtedly had when their husbands chose to marry them—lies the most interesting feature of this whole business of making wives over. It leads us into another topic and another chapter, but it is worth a short glance right here.

One of the men said, after he ordered some alterations: "The only changes I have suggested

would make her more like my mother." And this was what most of the men were trying to do who voted to alter those features of their wives which had not deteriorated. So far as their happiness went, they were right. Only seven men wanted to make their wives shorter. All seven of these said their mothers were shorter than their wives, and four out of the seven were unsatisfactorily married. In the case of the nine men who wanted their wives taller, five had mothers who were taller than their wives, and none of the mothers had been shorter. Four out of the five men with taller mothers were unsatisfactorily married. To put it in another way, out of the sixteen men who wanted to change the height of their wives, twelve of them said that there was a disparity between the height of their wives and their mothers, and out of these twelve, eight were unsatisfactorily married.

Something of the same sort is true in the case of the eyes, though not so markedly. More men want to change the color of their wives' eyes to agree with the color of their mothers' eyes than want to alter it in the other direction. And this in spite of the age-old tendency of the European to worship the blue-eyed maid. Brown-eyed mothers and therefore changes to brown eyes predominated among the physically-critical men of this research. Nine men wanted to turn the eyes of their wives brown and only three wanted to turn them blue. But seven out of the nine had had brown-eyed mothers, and only one of the three had looked up at blue eyes in youth.

Gentlemen do prefer blondes. Botticelli, Michael Angelo and Raphael—swarthy Italians

though they were—agreed with Anita Loos. They knew that angels had to have golden hair and azure eyes. But this research was not extensive enough to give a scientific endorsement to the observations of Lorelei Lee.

X

If this portion of the research holds any general meaning—which it probably does—and supplies any particular guidance for women—which it ought to—they lie along lines something like these: Mental attitudes and habits of disposition are things that irritate and increase all the more fundamental difficulties of married life. These fundamental difficulties—largely physical—are rooted deep in the past, and some of them can never be uprooted. The mental kinks lie nearer the present and more of them can be eased or eliminated. It is tremendously hard to alter unconscious reactions to the physical—because these things are usually set like iron in the first six years of life; and it is utterly impossible to alter such bodily facts as height or color of eye upon which dissatisfaction may perversely but permanently center. It *is* possible to do something definite and immediate about annoying habits and annoying mental attitudes. Or at least to try.

CHAPTER VIII

CLOSER TO THE HEART'S DESIRE—THE WIVES' TALE

Feminine specifications for more ideal husbands: above all, more talkativeness, next, less selfishness, better tempers, more affection. Last of all, physique, and only to make the man more like the father.

Nine out of every ten wives probably feel that, if their husbands knew how much some habit or some trait really irritates them, they would try to do something about it. And they probably would; for these men would then know how close they are skating to divorce when they won't talk after dinner, when they start the Victrola before breakfast, or when they scold about money matters. Of course most men have gathered that their wives don't approve of things like these, but they have little understanding of how tremendously important they are. There seem to be a score of little things about married life which irritate their wives, and they have no means of knowing which bulk biggest. Even if they did know all this, they might, of course, find it impossible to change, for many of our worst qualities are so firmly fixed in childhood that even a psychoanalytic treatment has difficulty in changing them.

The women were far more critical than the men about this business of habits and mental make-up. They were so much more critical, in fact, that the average mean male would be inclined to take all their opinions with a grain of salt, and especially those that seemed to bear on some of his own personal idiosyncrasies. He might be reminded,

however, that no matter of abstract justice is involved here. It is merely the human equation. It is a question of what women *feel* or *believe they feel.* What is the emotional price that women set on a happy or at least a peaceful married life? The man may find this out, and decide whether it is worth paying.

More women were critical and they were critical about more points. Eighty-six of the women wanted to make changes in their husbands' mental qualities, against only seventy-nine of the men. Eighty-three of the women named undesirable traits in the dispositions of their husbands, against only seventy-one men, and they named three bad traits apiece, where each man could think of only one. Sixty-four women wanted changes in the habits of their husbands, against only fifty-five men. It was only on the physical side that the women failed to out-distance the men in criticism. Sixty-two men had cited ways of making over their wives' figures or features nearer to their heart's desire; while only fifty-five women were bent on physical improvements. Here is a summary:

86 women and 79 men wanted mental changes.
64 women and 55 men wanted habits changed.
55 women and 62 men wanted physical changes.

Both men and women placed mental changes first—at least they found much more to complain of on that score. The men put changes in habits last. The women were best satisfied with the physical appearance of their mates. One way of explaining this is that the face and figure of a woman deteriorate faster than the physique of a

man, and that men lay more stress on the school girl complexion and the perfect thirty-six than women do on any part of a man except, perhaps, the hair and the waist line. Another explanation may be that women's habits can be much more improved than men's by a course of matrimony.

II

Anyhow, what were the habits that the sixty-four women objected to? What kind did most of them find irritating? Twenty-six women—against eighteen men—said they objected to physical mannerisms and to habits relating to care of the person. One husband refused to brush his teeth. One chewed with his mouth open. Another had a habit of scratching his head and chewing up toothpicks. One woman said: "I don't like the way he eats. He smacks his food in his mouth." Some objected to nail-biting, and one woman said: "I object to his habit of apparently biting his nails—which he really doesn't do." Here is a jumble of objections: "I don't like the way he walks." . . . "He is inclined to be rather unconventional about his clothes and he is very lazy about being well-groomed and he doesn't care about it. I don't mean to imply that he is not physically well-groomed. He cares more about comfort—that bothers me." . . . "He indulges in too much potato, candy, and ice cream, which produces excessive weight. He admits he is quite uncontrolled." . . . "His laxity in spending money without reference to its limitations." . . . "He has no habits to which I seriously object, though sometimes I feel irritated when he

snores." . . . "He leaves his clothing, newspapers, and desk articles hither and yon." . . . "A kind of awkwardness with his hands which make my own hands want to assist." . . . "He does not carve well, and that irritates me because he will not learn."

After the physical habits, came the mental. Twenty-two women objected on that score. Here, perhaps, they generalized more than in any other part of the research. That was only natural. "The one thing that I feel most deeply about," said one, "is his one-track brain." "I think," said another, "that he is entirely too given to everlasting detail." "I object to his dreaming and his slowness," said a third. Curiously enough, the question of smoking became a mental habit for two women. One of them believed that her husband's excessive smoking was partly the cause of his nervousness. Another said: "He does not smoke and I object to that." Smoking must be part of her mental picture of masculinity.

The worst mental habit cited by a few of the women was what Adler calls an inferiority complex, and not one man had mentioned it in his wife. "I feel he'd get along better," said one, "if he'd get over his inferiority complex." Another said her husband had a very deep feeling of inferiority based on bad conditions in childhood and early youth. He was apprehensive of everyone he met, and he defended himself by a habit of disparagement. He was glad when someone displayed faults or failed to make good in some direction. This woman felt her husband suffered from this even more than she did, looking on. The women who were astute enough to see that

their husbands suffered from a sense of inferiority and made life more difficult for both parties, were keenly interested in trying to do something about it. One woman said: "I think I can help him by seeing that he gets all the external things possible that will give him a sense of superiority. Good clothes, for instance, which he is very fond of." Another felt success in business would help her husband, and that she could encourage him to earn more money by giving him praise and confidence and providing a smooth home-life. Another said: "When I find him suspecting that people dislike him and are trying to injure him, I always make it my business to prove he is wrong. And I usually succeed."

Thirteen women were disturbed by the habits their husbands had developed in regard to the routine activities of life. The time they came home and the time they went to bed—those were sources of criticism: "When he comes home at night, he goes to sleep." . . . "I think his worst habit is staying out at night. He has always done that, though now he only stays out one night a week when he regularly plays poker. The last time he didn't come home till dawn." More than one woman said: "He has no idea of time. He keeps me waiting for dinner." Some, of course, found their husbands lacking in orderliness. "I tried for many years," said one, "to make my husband neat. Then I gave up. I gradually saw that it was foolish to worry because he threw his coat on a chair instead of hanging it in the closet." But another woman said: "His neatness bothers me. The only trouble we have is when he picks up my things." Some women found irritation in

the fact that their husbands did perfectly proper things at the wrong time, as, for instance, reading at the table, or—"He reads all night and keeps me awake." One wife was outraged because her husband played the piano before he had breakfast. "I don't like," she said, "to hear a Bach fugue while I'm combing my hair."

III

Nine women felt there was something habitually wrong in the attitude of their husbands toward them. One woman showed this when she answered the question, "Has your husband any habits to which you object?" by saying: "No. I let him tease me all he likes." Here are a batch of more violent complaints: "He has a habit of bullying me out of my faults." . . . "I wish he wouldn't be so hard to approach at times." . . . "The only thing is he is so close to me that it is hard for me to be myself. He is so much in love with me that he likes to sit and look at me and would like to have me all to himself, all the time. It is difficult for me." . . . "I have not been as successful in training him as he has been in training me." . . . "I think he is terribly self-centered. He doesn't consider me at all. He spends all his energy and time in business—he never takes a vacation—doesn't care about anything particularly but his business."

Somewhere in the neighborhood of those who complained about mental habits and objectionable attitudes were ten women who mentioned traits which they regarded as evidence of defects of personality. One woman, for instance, said that her

husband had no habits to which she objected and then put down his excessive drinking to a state of emotional insecurity. "He is fleeing," she said, "from unpleasant realities." Another woman complained that her husband was rude—not to her—but to "older people, and violent with the children, very harsh." One woman thought her husband was a strange and unbalanced person because he "dashed from his work, grabbed a book and bolted into his study and locked his door so that the children couldn't interrupt him." He happened to be working on a very important scientific matter which would greatly improve their financial position, but to his wife, he was merely eccentric, almost unbalanced. One wife was extremely annoyed because her husband devoted all his evenings to pasting up a scrapbook of theatrical reviews from all over the world, miscellaneous, unindexed, useless except for the pleasure of "feeling that he was doing something very superior and scholarly." Another wife complained: "My husband is absolutely without any literary ability, but he wants to make me believe he is quite remarkable along those lines. He spends a great deal of time writing bad verse, and he recites it whenever we have company. He knows a great deal about poetry and he feels deeply, but he can't let himself go emotionally. He is an iceberg. But he doesn't know enough to keep his bad poetry to himself." To another woman, her husband had a very clear and simple defect: "He lies a good deal. It is a habit I object to."

Six women thought their husbands had bad habits so far as social life and social usage went,

and from there on the habits of the husband ran down into matters such as five women objecting to drinking, three criticizing his attitude towards the children, three citing bad financial habits, two finding fault with his relations with other women, and so forth. One woman took an attitude towards her husband's habits which no man assumed. This was affectionate tolerance: "In living in the same house with him, I have found his bad habits decreasing in importance if not in number also. I find it hard to think of habits I object to. However bad they may be by the standards I knew before marriage, they seem to give me a sense of familiarity with him that I like."

One very obvious bit of evidence was to be expected from this research into objectionable habits. The women were far more disturbed than the men over bad habits connected with the everyday routine activities of the home. Both the men and the women put physical habits first and mental habits second, though eight more women than men emphasized the physical. The women, however, placed routine habits third, while the men dropped that category to seventh place, and put the wife's attitude and defects in her personality far ahead.

IV

It is perfectly possible for a man to put his mind to it and change a great many, if not all, the physical mannerisms his wife may object to. He may even be able to adapt himself to the household routine, conquer the habit of coming home late for dinner or the desire to sit out one more hand of poker at the club. With these things out

of the way, there are still the mental traits. They are legion and they are not so easy to change. Let us look at some of them as reported by our hundred women. They came out in answer to this question: "What changes would you make in any of the following mental qualities of your husband?"

Fewer women than men were satisfied with their mates' temperamental equipment. Only fourteen were willing to leave their men as they were against twenty-one men who had been satisfied with their wives. "There isn't anything radically wrong," said one woman, "though he does insist on wearing a lovely brown handkerchief with a blue suit, and that distresses me." One woman gazed in horror at the array of possible faults on the question-card and exclaimed: "This is terrible! He is such a charming person." Another said: "I don't think I'd make any changes. I can see that he's not absolutely perfect in some ways, but he has no fault that I love him any the less for." Another tolerant note: "I wouldn't change my husband at all. He has some faults, but I like them."

The outstanding fact about the answers of the eighty-six critical women was that complaints about talkativeness or lack of talkativeness led all the rest. On every topic, of course, there were both positive and negative complaints—some wanted their husbands more thrifty and some wanted them less, some wished they had more temper and some less. If we lump negatives and positives together as simply complaints, we have forty-three women wanting to change their husbands' conversational habits,

and not more than thirty-six wanting to change any other trait. Even if we consider only the number of women who want to make their husbands *more* talkative, we get thirty. Only one other concrete improvement is called for by more women—a decrease in selfishness—but only thirty-four women want that, and a number of them cite moroseness and sullenness as an evidence of selfishness. By and large, there seems to be nothing a husband could do so effectively to improve the happiness of his wife as to indulge in interesting conversation.

Where the men put in a simple and almost uniform plea for less talk, the women insisted on just the right sort of conversation and a lot of it. "I like to have people talk, and say something; but he just says the same thing over and over again. It bores me." . . . "I'd like him to be more talkative when it comes to discussing situations and coming to understandings. Sometimes his talkativeness, his desire to be sociable, annoys me frightfully. There is too much banality in that kind of talk. He is not a stimulating conversationalist." . . . "I wish he were more talkative. I thought I had married the mental type of man, and he turned out just the opposite. He isn't a conversationalist at all." . . . "I have very often wished he was more conversational in relation to other people. It irritates me when he won't say a word at a party. And at home there are weeks and weeks when he says practically nothing to me. I don't mind, of course, if I'm working." . . . "He sits for hours and won't talk to me." . . . "I try to get him to talk more. His terrible silence gets on my nerves when we go out

to dinner." . . . "I'd like to have him willing to discuss things—to talk a thing out. His way is either to concede a point or just to close up and not discuss it at all."

And this brings us to the trait that totals up the next largest number of complaints—temper. Thirty-six women wanted to improve their husbands' temper, but seven of them wanted to make it worse. Good temper seemed to the seven merely another form of secretiveness, indifference, or sullenness: "There have been lots of times when I'd have given anything if he'd just got mad instead of keeping still." . . . "I wish he had a great deal more temper. He is much too quiet. I love a fight, and I resent the fact that he'll let me flare up and not flare back." Or—"He's too good tempered. He lets me walk on him."

Complaints about scolding—particularly too much scolding—come pretty far down the list. But it is highly significant right here that three women who found their husbands not talkative enough got back to the subject through the question on scolding. "He is not interested enough to scold." . . . "I'd rather he'd scold more and have it out than to shut up the way he does." . . . "I'd prefer him to have a tendency to scold instead of sullen brooding." Silence bites deep into women. Their natures are more emotional and out-giving. They spend the day at home in comparative silence, while their husbands are working in an atmosphere of activity and communication. When the man returns home, he wants quiet and rest. The woman wants just the opposite relief from her day's routine.

The next subject of complaint is on thriftiness, and the thirty-six women who wanted to improve their husbands' economic attitude were curiously divided on just how to improve it. Two-thirds of them wanted to make their husbands more thrifty—the old urge towards physical security for them and their children. Eleven would have liked them less thrifty—which probably meant that the family was comfortably off, and the wife wanted to see her husband more generous, either with his time or his money. The comments of the women were curiously uninteresting and matter-of-fact, considering how much emphasis they put on economic problems and friction over money in other portions of the research.

Selfishness, too, has its conversational side. Indeed, it includes pretty nearly any other vice. The remark of one of the thirty-four women in this group, "My husband is less selfish than most men," indicates that most masculine shortcomings can boil down to what Kipling called "too much ego in his cosmos." "His is a queer sort of selfishness," said another, "probably the worst kind. He'd give his shirt off his back to anyone who needed it. But his neglect of me has shown his real selfishness." Here is another angle: "He is very generous, but I think that a lot of that is just selfishness disguised. He'll buy me many presents, but he won't let me pick them out. He spends a great deal of money on things I don't want."

V

Affection and the sexual side of marriage are interestingly related so far as the women are concerned. Twenty-six women wanted their hus-

bands to show more affection. Four thought their husbands took the wrong way of showing it. And three wanted less affection. Some wanted more affection as a substitute for the sexual: "It's his capacity for showing affection that I'd like to see increased rather than his physical desire. He has difficulty in patting me on the shoulder and letting it go at that." Some wanted more affection as a bridge to physical expression: "As to affection, I don't think he is fully informed with regard to love making." Some wanted less affection, because it seemed to lead to a physical relation which they were not reconciled to: "It hurts me terribly that he can't show affection without expecting a physical response."

On the purely sexual side, there were twenty-eight dissatisfied women against thirty-six critical men. Three-fifths as many women as men wished their mates more passionate, and twice as many women as men wanted them less so. "I wish he cared more about controlling this," said one woman. "I realized," said another, "that this was a very strong part of his nature, and I prayed it could be lessened." Here is a woman who, like a number of others, pointed out a relation between affection and physical desire which is abhorrent to her: "I'd lessen his sexual desire. I can't go near him, or give him the slightest affectionate caress without its having a physical meaning to him—nothing more delicate."

VI

On care of dress, about the same number of women and men had improvements to suggest—

twenty-six. But more women than men wanted their mates to show greater care, and more—three to one—wanted them to show less care. Five men balanced up the totals by requiring "better taste" in dress—something that it is a little harder for husbands to show under the formal regimentation of the masculine coat and pants. "He used to be very sloppy," said one woman, "but I have changed that." "I'd like to have him a little more sheiky in his dress," said a second. "He's more correct and conventional than I approve of," said a third. "So far as he uses dress as a symbol for being conventional, it annoys me. I really like neatness myself."

On the subject of serious-mindedness, seventeen women lined up with twelve men for a cheerfuller view of life. Eight more were inclined to increase the high-thinking, if not plain living, in their families. But there was no such division of opinion about intelligence. Twenty-four women came out for more and better brains. Somewhat in the following ways: "I think deep at the back there is a little lack of intelligence at grasping things quickly." . . . "I'd like tremendously to change the intelligence that my husband shows. He doesn't seem to show any curiosity. It always distressed me greatly that he was willing to take my ideas about things." . . . "I wish he'd put his intelligence to better use. I don't think he reads enough and thinks enough." . . . "I wish his intelligence were more active and that he would use it more. His occasional flashes are charming, but I think he is a little bit dumb, really."

The women showed more interest in the reli-

gious life than the men had done. Only nine men wanted to change their wives along this line, and they all wanted to make them more religious. Fifteen women wanted more religious interest in their husbands, five found their religious life unsatisfactory, and three thought their mates too religious. Those who wanted to increase the religious life of their husbands said things like the following: "I would change his religious life. I'd like to have it mean more than the fact that he was born a Baptist and had to stay a Baptist. I'd like religion to mean much more to him—not just be loyal for the family's sake." . . . "He is profoundly religious—essentially. But I wish I could get him to be less reticent about his religious life."

On vanity and social standing the women were pretty much of a mind. Only two women thought their husbands ought to be more vain. Twenty wanted to abate their vanity. Twenty-one women wished to improve their husbands along social lines, and gave just about the same kind of comments as they had made on the bad social habits of their mates earlier in the research.

Fourteen women thought their husbands could be more truthful to advantage, but three others developed an interest which the men never showed in having a little less frankness scattered about the house. As one woman put it, "He has an exaggerated veneration for truth," or another, "I don't know that it is a good thing for us to tell each other everything we think. I believe he has an over-developed tendency to truthfulness." Fourteen untruthful husbands were described in somewhat these terms: "He has a tendency to

deny almost everything. He never remembers incidents—just dismisses them and says they did not happen." . . . "His love of putting the best foot forward and boasting a little sometimes distorts the actual truth. If he thinks that he has done something that I am criticizing, he will deny it." . . . "He is the damnedest liar I have ever known." . . . "I consider that he is truthful. The only possible limitation on that is that he may have concealed from me why he no longer cares for me."

And now we come to the last item—tendency to flirt. Seventeen women saw some chance for improvement in this respect. Only eleven thought their husbands too flirtatious. The other six wished they would step out a bit. Some of the comments make as interesting reading as any in this portion of the research: "He has no tendency to flirt. He is not that kind. I wish he were." . . . "I try to egg him on in flirting." . . . "Tendency to flirt—I think if he relaxed certain taboos a little more, it might possibly be a little better for him." . . . "I do awfully much want my husband to be free of me because I see how much my mother despoiled my father of his freedom." . . . "He has no tendency to flirt, I wish he had. I have started to see it in him a few times. I have been delighted. I'd even like to see him have love affairs with other women—I'd know his inhibitions were lifting. I'd be quite willing to compete for him. And then I'd feel I was not destroying him as my mother destroyed my father." . . . "I would not have cared whether he flirted or not, just so he'd do it with me once in a while." . . . "He has no tend-

ency to flirt—I sometimes wish he would flirt a little, so that I could make a struggle to keep him." . . . "He has a very strong tendency to flirt, but that only amuses me, and rather gives me a feeling of pride that women find him attractive."

VII

Here we have a table of the answers of both the women and the men to this question on improving mental traits. On each topic the total number of comments comes first. Then follow two or more types of answers. The topics are arranged in the order of importance in the women's list of improvements.

	Women		*Men*	
No changes	14		21	
Talkativeness	43		24	
More talkative		30		4
Less talkative		13		20
Temper	36		30	
Better temper		29		28
More temper		7		2
Thriftiness	36		24	
More thrifty		21		16
Less thrifty		11		3
Not the right kind of thrift		4		5
Selfishness	35		26	
Less selfish		34		17
More selfish		1		2
Unselfishness badly directed.		0		7
Affection	33		28	
More affectionate		26		16
Less affectionate		3		4
Ways of showing affection wrong		4		8
Physical desire.	28		36	
More passionate		15		25
Less passionate		9		5
Ways of expressing passion wrong		4		6

	Women		*Men*	
Care of dress	26		25	
More care of dress		23		19
Less care of dress		3		1
Better taste in dress		0		5
Serious-mindedness	25		19	
Less serious-minded		17		12
More serious-minded		8		3
Quality of serious-mindedness wrong		0		4
Intelligence	24		27	
Religious life	23		9	
More religious		15		9
Less religious		3		0
Religious life unsatisfactory		5		0
Vanity	22		21	
Less vain		20		9
More vain		2		6
Quality of self-esteem wrong		0		6
Social standing	21		20	
Truthfulness	17		14	
More truthful		14		14
Less truthful		3		0
Tendency to flirt	17		13	
Less flirtatious		11		6
More flirtatious		6		7
Tendency to scold	16		24	
Less scolding		14		24
More scolding; less silence		2		0

Looking over the table, you can note certain general tendencies that set off the women from the men.

More women than men wanted to increase their mates'—

Talkativeness	30 to 4
Thriftiness	21 to 16
Affection	26 to 16
Religious life	15 to 9
Temper	7 to 2
Care of dress	23 to 19

More women than men wanted to decrease their mates'—

Physical desire	9 to 5
Selfishness	34 to 17
Vanity	20 to 9
Truthfulness	3 to 0
Flirtatiousness	11 to 6
Thriftiness	11 to 3

Fewer women than men wanted to increase their mates'—

Physical desire	15 to 25
Intelligence	24 to 27

Fewer women than men wanted to decrease their mates'—

Scolding	14 to 24

There were two startlingly different responses from the women and the men. These were on talkativeness and physical desire. The first seems to be the women's chief conscious aim. The second takes the same place for the men. And each is—inversely—the chief conscious antipathy of the other sex.

VIII

Physical appearance runs along with physical desire. More men than women wanted to make physical changes, and they wanted to make more changes. Women put the physical changes very low indeed. These took last place in their lists of improvements. Sixty-two men wanted to make physical alterations in their wives, and fifty-five wanted to change their habits. Sixty-four women

wanted to make habit changes, and only fifty-five wanted to alter their husbands' appearance.

There seem to be obvious reasons why the women placed the least emphasis on the physical appearance of their husbands. To begin with, it works in with the general tendency of women to taboo the fleshly side of life—a tendency inculcated by the taboos of childhood, and tied in biologically with the far more important consequences to them of the whole physical side of marriage. On top of this, the appearance of men does not alter so markedly in the thirties, does not deteriorate so much. Further, masculinity seems more a matter of mere size or inner muscular strength than of charms of skin and flesh which wither quickly, and the whole mental character of competition for success in modern life makes for less emphasis on a man's physical qualities as determining whether he is a good provider and an important piece of property to own.

Forty-five out of the hundred women did not want to make any changes. From among all the changes asked for by the rest, just one thing stands out. The general and characteristic demand of these women was for taller husbands. "I don't know of any change, unless I'd make him a little taller." Here is a woman who wanted to make such a change, and yet she found almost every single feature satisfactory: "I'd have him taller. His weight is perfectly all right. His figure is all right. So are his skin and his complexion. I'd have his hair a little lighter and his eyes blue." But always taller, taller, taller. What does it mean?

Look back at the men a moment. They were

very busy making over their wives along two lines. One of these was so altering the parts of the anatomy that had deteriorated as to bring back the fresh bloom of youth which they had known and married. The other was changing the height, eyes, or hair to bring the wives nearer to the image of their mothers.

The women neglected the withering charms except in one minor respect, and the reasons have been explained. The one thing that more women than men wanted to change was the amount of hair. Seven women rebelled at the baldness of their husbands.

As to the unchangeable features—height, eyes, color of hair—the women did make some alterations here to bring their husbands nearer to the pattern of their fathers. But they were not so numerous or so emphatic as the men. Nine men had wanted to make their wives taller, and seven had wanted to make them shorter—mostly to get them nearer the pattern of their mothers. On the other hand, what do the women want to do? The extraordinary number of twenty-nine want to make their husbands taller, and only one woman wants to make her mate shorter. The father comes in here a little, of course, for only six of the twenty-nine had had fathers shorter than their husbands, and the lone woman who wanted a shorter husband had a shorter father. But, all in all, these women were simply crying out for the masculine ideal. They were thinking of Everyman, not of the father: and Everyman is, of course, a protecting giant. If there must be a physical man, let him be a tower of strength.

But, first of all, let him have good mental traits

and after that good habits. The man of five-feet-seven or under can get along very comfortably with his wife if he gives a thought to her temperamental prejudices. Which means giving a thought to his own and getting rid of a few of them.

CHAPTER IX

ŒDIPUS REX

Evidence that supports Freud's dictum of the part the mother-image plays in a man's choice of his wife. Reasonably affectionate sons make happy marriages. The happiest group of men have wives on the mother-pattern. Yet the fear of inbreeding makes men marry away from the mother.

Getting along with a wife and speaking a language correctly aren't so very different. The same laws of psychological development lie back of a man's taste in wives and his ability to speak properly. They determine in much the same way what particular type of woman he can get along with, and what language he can use comfortably and correctly. If a man feels more at home with English than French, and speaks English with a better accent, it is absurdly safe to suppose that his mother was English or that he was brought up where English was spoken almost exclusively. If he says, "It don't" and "It ain't," it is easy to guess that his mother was lacking in respect for good grammar. In much the same way, his inability to get along with a red-headed, snub-nosed wife may be safely traced back in two cases out of three to the fact that his mother had coal-black hair and an elegantly acquiline nose. We talk of a man's "mother tongue." We might just as well talk of his "mother wife."

We have never had any trouble in explaining just why a man is at home in his native language.

It has never been a mystery, and we have never invented mysterious words for the psychological explanation. Only within the last generation have we been getting anywhere near an understanding of the psychology of marriage, anywhere near an explanation of husbandly preferences and husbandly behavior. And now we are rather hastily pasting labels over the explanations, and letting it go at that. They are very impressive labels, and so we paste them on with the feeling: "That's that, and now I don't have to think any more about this mysterious and baffling business." When we speak of a man's "mother tongue" we are pasting a label that we understand on a subject that we really know something about. But when most people talk about a "mother complex" or an "Œdipus complex" they have merely hit upon a vague kind of name for something which they don't understand but which they feel must be very important.

II

Generally speaking, a man may be said to have a mother complex if he is still so childishly dependent on his mother that he can't love any other woman in a natural, grown-up way. It was all right for him as a child to focus on his mother his craving for love, and to subordinate his will to hers—to a degree. But if he pushed this too far —or rather, if his mother pushed it too far—this love for his mother and subservience to her became something he could not later escape from. At adolescence, the normal time for asserting his own will and seeking love from someone not his

mother, this man was a captive to a relationship that should have passed away. The fault is always the mother's—at bottom. The child is her creature. She can do what she pleases with him, for good or bad. Too often she harms him—and harms him unwittingly.

You get a mother complex, in most cases, because your mother loved your father too little and loved you too much. It was as though she said at your birth: "I don't love my husband, so I'm going to concentrate all my affection on this man-child of mine." It is healthy for a mother to think children a nuisance as well as a pleasure, and a child ought to reciprocate. The large families of the nineteenth century helped the situation; and the larger domestic duties of that period, when the mother ran what was virtually a factory in the home, helped still more.

The kind of mother who creates this complex—which Freud named for the Greek king Œdipus, who unwittingly killed his father and married his mother—not only develops too great a love for her in her son. She goes on cultivating this abnormal fervor, and dominating his life right through adolescence. She clings to her grown-up little boy so jealously and so tenaciously that often he cannot look on any other woman with longing—or at any rate with enough longing to make him break his chains. If he does marry—and we are concerned here with the child-man who does—then mother and son are sure to find some excuse for extreme dissatisfaction with the woman who has come between them.

Of course there are a great many men who can be fairly labelled as having mother complexes,

but we can make much too much of that fact. It is all a matter of degree. A man with a mother complex has simply had too much of a good thing. Our instinct is right when we despise a "mother's boy." His mother forgot "moderation in all things."

III

It is a good thing—mother-love. Upon it happy marriage is founded. To make a good husband, a man ought to have been very fond of his mother all through boyhood. He ought to have admired her greatly and felt very sure of her affection. This statement sums up one part of the evidence of this research bearing on the Œdipus complex.

One of the questions the hundred men answered was: "Were you and your mother always on affectionate terms?" The answers fell into three groups, rather than two. Twelve men said they had always been on *very* affectionate terms, and made quite a point of the matter. Fifty-four said, "Yes," and let it go at that. Most of the remaining thirty-four gave answers ranging all the way from a luke-warm, "Mother and I were fairly friendly," to a dislike of the mother, and some had been brought up by aunts, grandmothers, or stepmothers. These three groups—the first representing an extravagant degree of mother-love, the second an average degree of mother-love, and the third no mother-love at all—tell an interesting story when we look into the records of these men as to their happiness in marriage. The first and third groups didn't fare as well as the middle group:

34 men not on affectionate terms with mother	41 % happy
12 men on *very* affectionate terms	42 % happy
54 men on temperately affectionate terms .	59 % happy

The men who had felt an extravagant mother-love and the men who had felt little or none were below the average of happiness; but the men who had felt steady, temperate mother-love were on the happily married side of the examiner's ledger. Obviously this suggests, if it does not prove, that, for the boy's future happiness in marriage, it is best for him to be on friendly and affectionate terms with his mother *without over-doing it.*

Now what about the women whom the men married? Were they, too, happier because their husbands loved their mothers well but temperately? Of course a happily married husband does not inevitably imply a happily married wife. Some of the husbands of this research who seemed happily married had wives who did not regard their marriages as equal bargains, and some of the men who were rated as unhappily married, had perfectly satisfied wives. How much happier were the wives of men who had felt a strong but not extravagant affection for their mothers? We can test this in the case of the fifty-five couples in the research.

Out of the twelve men who had been on extravagantly affectionate terms with their mothers, we had eight wives to study. Forty-two per cent of the men had been happily married. Only two of the eight wives—or 25 per cent—were happily married.

Out of the thirty-four men who had felt little affection for their mothers, we had nineteen wives to study. Forty-one per cent of the men had been

happily married. Only seven of the nineteen wives—or 37 per cent—were happily married.

Out of the fifty-four men who had been on reasonably affectionate terms with their mothers, we had twenty-eight wives to study. Fifty-nine per cent of the men had been happily married. Eighteen of the twenty-eight wives—or 64 per cent—were happily married.

To summarize: Too much or too little mother-love produced husbands who were less happy in their marriages than the average of the research, and their wives were still less happy. A decent amount of mother-love produced husbands who were happier than the average, and their wives were still happier.

To generalize: Mothers' boys and mother-haters don't make happy husbands or good husbands.

Another way of testing the quality of a son's relationship to his mother is to ask him: "During your life with your parents were you fonder of one parent than the other?" Only seventy-nine of the hundred men answered this question definitely enough for their replies to be of any use. But here again the moderate course *plus mother-love* won out.

39 men fonder of mother than father . . .	44% happy
20 men fonder of father than mother . . .	60% happy
20 men equally fond of both parents . . .	70% happy

Fondness for the mother was essential to the greatest married happiness, but freedom from the apron strings of a mother complex was even more important.

IV

This research provided two other tests of this matter of the mother complex. The men were asked to describe their mothers' physical appearance and also her disposition. Their replies naturally reflected their feelings toward their mothers.

In the case of the physical appearance there are obviously three ways of analyzing the material. The men described attractive features, unattractive features, and features of neutral or undefined quality.

13 men saw only unattractive features in mother	38% happy
56 men saw unattractive and neutral features	48% happy
31 men saw only neutral features	61% happy

Here again the safest course was to feel neither antagonism nor enthusiasm for the mother's physical make-up and to see it only in a neutral, objective light.

Descriptions of disposition do not admit of this kind of three-part division. There are no neutral traits of character. Brown eyes are attractive only if the man says they are. Thriftiness, truthfulness, and unselfishness are undeniably good in a mother, and vanity, false pride, and cruelty are not. The neutral field of moderate enthusiasm disappears. As most men mentioned at least one desirable trait, the best division is between those that mentioned *only* good features and those that mentioned bad features as well as good. The result was greater married happiness for the men who recalled no undesirable trait in their mothers —62 per cent against 45 per cent.

Sisters often mother their brothers—especially in large families where the daughter is one of the older children. Perhaps that is why this research suggests that they can play an important part in determining how lucky or unlucky a man may be in the matter of wives. At any rate, the men who thought their sisters were good looking and who made no allusion to unattractive physical features fared much better than those who could think of some unpleasing quality. The batting average of the men with handsome sisters was 71 per cent; only 41 per cent of the rest were happily married.

But it is better to have a sister and run the risk of not being wholly pleased with her appearance than to have no sister at all. Fifty-five per cent of the men with sisters were happily married, against only 38 per cent of the sisterless.

V

So much for the question of how far a man's relation to his mother and his sister affects his chances of happiness with his wife. Consider now the question of how far his mother's physical and temperamental qualities dictate the kind of wife he chooses—for good or ill—and how far his wife's resemblance to his mother physically and temperamentally will affect his happiness with her.

Every man was asked: "Is your wife like or unlike your mother in physical appearance—not as your mother is now, but as she was when you were a child?" A little more than three-quarters of them gave answers that were clean-cut enough to work from. Sixty said, without reservation,

"Unlike." Only seventeen said "Like" or "Very like" without hedging. Now here comes a very suggestive and conclusive fact about the sixty and the seventeen. Only one of the men whose wives were physically like their mothers could be rated as unhappily married.

60 men married women unlike mother physically	20 or 33% happy
17 men married women like mother physically	16 or 94% happy

Here is the clearest possible proof of the truth of Freud's dictum on the Œdipus complex. Less than a fifth follow this pattern; but those who do follow and capture the mother-image are strikingly happy. For this group of one hundred men, then, those who married women who looked like their mothers stood sixteen chances out of seventeen of being happily married; but the men who married women unlike their mothers in appearance stood only one chance in three.

Now, if a wife who looks like mother is 94 per cent certain to make a man happy, why is it that sixty out of our hundred men married women unlike their mothers? An intimate study of our records, along with some general knowledge of the reactions of adolescent boys, suggests several different explanations of this paradox.

For one thing, not all mothers impress their small sons favorably. Only thirty-nine of the hundred men stated without qualification that they had been fonder of their mothers during childhood than of their fathers, and only twenty more had been equally fond of both parents. There were twenty who were quite sure that they had been fonder of their fathers. The rest

weren't sure which they had preferred. When the hundred men were asked to describe their mothers' dispositions there were sixty who called attention to undesirable traits, and eleven of these sixty failed to mention a single good trait.

It isn't very likely that a boy who is seriously dissatisfied with his mother's disposition will be so attached to her that when he grows up he will fall in love with a girl who looks like her—however much this may suit his unconscious desire. Even if in his eyes his mother's disposition was all on the right side of the ledger and he admired her tremendously, that would not necessarily incline him toward girls of his mother's physical type. For here the period of adolescence throws in a new emotional element.

Until he is about fourteen years old a boy is more than content to stick pretty close to his mother. He isn't trying to break loose from her apron strings, assert a will of his own, and admire other women. Then, with the approach of adolescence, he begins to revolt. He wants to lead his own life as far as he can. Particularly he shears off from too great physical intimacy with his mother. As he feels sex stirring in him, the taboo of incest begins to show its force. Nature wants to free him for marriage and it wants to work against inbreeding. The boy veers away from his mother towards other women, and toward women quite different from his mother's physical type. His mother may be fine and unselfish and kind, but if she is too dominating or too aggressively the perfect woman, she may make the inevitable struggle to cut the apron strings so difficult for him that he has to focus on

girls who don't look like his mother at all, if he is to achieve emotional independence.

VI

And now the mother's disposition has entered the picture, and new complications and differentiations crop out. All along the line, the physical and the temperamental play curiously related and curiously dissimilar parts—as we have seen at a dozen different points in the relations of husbands and wives. In general, the physical aspect takes first place. Men and women choose their mates on that basis; they find out about disposition, habits, and temperaments later. With the physical well adjusted, the temperamental may still create havoc.

The reactions of our hundred men to the dispositional resemblances of their mothers and their wives are highly interesting. Their mothers' dispositions may have put them off marrying women whose physical resemblance to their mothers would have made them happy. On the other hand, if their wives do resemble their mothers temperamentally, the men are a little farther along toward a happy adjustment. Yet we must note a difference in their reactions to physical resemblance and resemblance in disposition. It is a difference that is dependable and almost constant.

It is apparently better for a man to marry a woman who seems to resemble his mother in disposition than to marry the opposite. Two-thirds of the men whose wives seemed to have this resemblance were happily married, against slightly

less than half of the others. Here comes the first difference in degree between the physical appearance and the disposition; for 94 per cent of men who married women *physically* like their mothers were happy and only 33 per cent of those who married women unlike their mothers were happy. Thus in comparing the physical and the dispositional we have:

Men marrying wives with mother's *physique*	94% happy
Men marrying wives with mother's *disposition*	65% happy
Men marrying wives without mother's *disposition*	50% happy
Men marrying wives without mother's *physique*	33% happy

Disposition or temperament strikes a middle course, but it still pays to marry someone like your mother.

VII

So much for the *facts* of these marriages. So much for the actual person these men married. What about the kind of person they thought they would like to marry? Two questions covered this both for the physical person and for the disposition. One asked: "If you were single and not in love with any particular woman, would you be likely to prefer a woman of your mother's general physical appearance or do you naturally incline toward women who are physically opposite to your mother?" The other question bore similarly on the "general type of disposition." These questions brought out new relationships of physique and disposition to each other and to happy marriage. They also bring us to another

impressive word that is a favorite part of the amateur psychoanalyst's vocabulary—*ambivalence.*

This word has a mysterious and psychological flavor, but it really means a rather simple thing. It refers to double and apparently contrary reactions in the same person toward the same thing. To put it directly, there are persons for whom—under the surface—you feel both love and hate. This is especially true of members of your own family. Here we are applying it to the son whose affection for his mother holds him in a kind of emotional bondage which stands between him and his assertion of independence as a grown-up male. His reactions of violent repudiation of the enslaving parent often look like hate or seem to spring from it. Actually he feels both love and hate. His emotion is *ambivalent.*

The emotions of forty-eight of our men toward their mothers were ambivalent enough to show up on the question as to whether they would want to marry a woman of their mother's disposition. These men were uncertain; they would and they wouldn't. This uncertainty showed ambivalence because it had to do with disposition. A man's ambivalence came out over the assertive emotional qualities of a mother, the things that had held him to her against his will. He could have a fondness for his mother's looks, a dislike of them, or an indifference; but on her disposition he had to be either pro-or-con or pro-and-con, never indifferent, and these ambivalent men were much less happily married than the men who had either a liking or dislike for the mother's type of disposition. Only 33 per cent of them were happy,

where the others rated at 57 per cent and 56 per cent.

The results of this research reach the acme of complication and perhaps of interest when we compare the *ideas* of these men about the type they would like to marry with the *facts* as to the types they actually did marry. To make it twice as complicated and four times as interesting let us make it a double comparison by throwing in preferences as to physical types and dispositional types. And, while we are at it, we might as well toss in the consequences in happy marriages. A statement of all this in statistical form is enormously complicated and would probably be baffling to the lay reader. The more obvious conclusions, however, are:

It is safer to want to fall in love with your mother's physical type than her opposite.

If you have this prejudice, it is far, far safer to follow it and marry your mother's physical type. And it is better than average safe to marry a neutral type.

It is less than average safe to want to marry a woman of the opposite physical type to your mother.

If you have this prejudice, it is still less safe to follow it. The choice of a neutral type will bring your chance of happiness way up above the average.

It is safer to have prejudices about disposition than about physique. Your chances of happiness will not be quite so good, but your chances of unhappiness will be less.

It is much safer to have prejudices against your mother's type of disposition than against her

physique. You can follow them more safely, and it is only the opposite and the neutral choices—where ambivalence enters in—that are dangerous.

VIII

Let us go back and try to summarize the relation between the reactions of these men to their mothers and sisters, and their chances of married happiness. It may have as much meaning for you as for the hundred men of this research. The ideas or relationships which tended to produce happy marriages are arranged in the order in which they rose above the average of the hundred men—51 per cent.

94 per cent were happy whose wives resembled their mother physically.
71 per cent were happy who saw only attractive things in their sisters' appearance.
70 per cent were happy who were equally fond of father and mother.
67 per cent were happy whose wives resembled their mothers in disposition.
65 per cent were happy who saw only attractive traits in their sisters' disposition.
62 per cent were happy who saw only attractive things in their mothers' appearance.
61 per cent were happy who saw only attractive traits in their mothers' disposition.
60 per cent were happy who were fonder of their fathers than of their mothers.
55 per cent were happy who had one or more sisters.

CHAPTER X

THE TRAGEDY OF ELECTRA

The women, like the men, find happiness with a mate that resembles the opposite parent. But fear of incest, added to fear of inbreeding, makes the women even less fortunate than the men in their marriage choices.

"Mothering" and "mother's boy" are unique words. The English language provides no parallel for them across the sex-lines. No young woman was ever accused of being a "father's girl." And the word "fathering" is simply absurd.

Such a look at language might have prevented a good many psychologists and even psychiatrists from applying the equivalent of the "mother complex" or "Œdipus complex" of Freud quite as directly and completely to the problems of the young woman and wife as to the problems of the young man and husband.

There is a very definite tie-up between a boy and his mother which produces just as definite tie-ups between his wife and his mother. The marriages of the hundred men supplied added proof of this main contention, which Freud founded largely on evidence from the mentally sick. The "Œdipus complex" breaks down, however, in certain notable respects when we try to reverse matters and apply it to a girl, her father, and her husband. The marriages of the hundred women show this.

We have seen that a boy must admire his mother very much—but not *too* much—if he is to

have more than an average chance of being happy later in his marriage. He must have a sister and he must admire her. He should marry a woman of his mother's type of disposition. But if he finds his mother physically too attractive, or if he is fonder of his mother than of his father, then his chances of marrying happily are less than the average.

Not all this is true for a girl—at any rate for the girls who grew into the women of this research. They followed the men in certain respects. It was better for them to have had brothers and to have admired their fathers' and brothers' dispositions. It was better for them to have married men resembling their fathers in disposition and physique. They veered off, however, from the pattern of the men when it came to their emotional relationship to their parents, and their admiration of their fathers' and brothers' physiques.

II

Yet one exception to these last exceptions ought to be noted—here, now, and very emphatically. For upon it would seem to depend a great deal of the misery of married life. In this matter the women followed the men—or, rather, they led them and far out-distanced them. Thirteen of the men alluded to unattractive physical qualities when describing their mothers, and only five of these were happily married—a ratio of 38 per cent. Out of the eleven women who criticized their fathers in this way only one was happily married—less than 10 per cent—and nine of the women were so unhappily married that in the

examiner's opinion their marriages ought to be dissolved.

The moral of this is absurdly plain. The mother who, because she does not love her husband, continually belittles him in the eyes of her little girl is doing her best to insure married misery for her daughter when she grows up. The father need not be an Adonis; but so long as the mother doesn't point out his short-comings—either in disposition or physique—the little girl will take no note of them emotionally. His crooked nose, his thin hands, his fat figure will be merely familiar and "homey" and sort of lovable as expressions of the father she fondly admires. To put it in more or less scientific terms a girl must build up from her father a pattern of male desirability. To put it humanly, the greatest domestic crime a mother can commit is to destroy her little girl's image of an admirable father.

The consequences are likely to follow through a century. The examiner recalls a family in his birthplace that was cursed in this way through five generations. Perhaps it led even farther back, but at any rate, the great-great-grandmother had not loved her husband, and had held him up to ridicule before her daughter. That daughter married unhappily and repeated the ridicule. Her daughter and her daughter's daughter went through the same experience. A happy marriage was impossible for these women, even though their husbands seemed to outsiders wholly admirable, temperate, kindly men. Here, indeed, were the sins of the mother visited upon the children even unto the fourth and fifth generations.

Fortunately a father has far less opportunity

than a mother for influencing a child against the other parent, and, while a man will not find a happy marriage so easily who is impressed with unattractive physical features in his mother, the ratio of possible happiness is twice as great for a man as for a woman. Perhaps all this—and particularly the ability of the curse to spread down through succeeding generations—accounts for the greater dissatisfaction with marriage which women show over men. Remember that in this research 51 per cent of the men were happily married, but only 45 per cent of the women.

III

Now for the factors in the childhood of men and women which account for the different reactions we have noted. The error might almost be stated mathematically. The expectation of the neo-Freudian layman is that this ratio should be true: Father is to Daughter as Mother is to Son (F:D:: M:S). The thing that upsets this is the greater importance of motherhood in the life of the world, and the overwhelmingly greater importance of the mother in the lives of her children. Until a child is weaned it is possible to say that it has only one parent. Until a child is six or seven, the mother is ten times as important as the father in its life. Even up to adolescence the boy or girl is far, far closer to the mother both physically and spiritually. The mother stands in almost the same relationship to both the children through the first six years. The father stands so, too, but the vital point is that the father is an outsider to both his children.

Now what should be the natural consequences of this? In the first place, the girl is in little danger of setting up towards the mother an intimate and powerful emotional relationship which can compete on equal terms with the attractions of a man when she grows up. Her intimacy with her mother cannot bar out all men, as a boy's intimacy with his mother may bar out all women. And the girl is never close enough physically to her father in these formative years to be in danger of becoming something parallel to a "mother's boy." Old bachelors are most often a product of the "mother complex." Old maids are more apt to be created by the fact that the bachelors don't marry them, or that their mothers have set them against marriage by criticism of their fathers or of masculinity in general.

There are two great taboos among human beings which the animals know nothing of. One is the taboo against physical relations or too great physical intimacy with members of the opposite sex within the walls of the family—the taboo of incest. The other is the taboo against physical relations with members of the same sex outside those walls—the taboo against homosexuality. In childhood the human being has to do only with the family. And what do we find within those limits? The boy in close physical intimacy with a person of the opposite sex—the mother—and unwittingly incestuous in unconscious emotion. The girl in close physical intimacy with a person of her own sex—again the mother—and unwittingly homosexual in unconscious emotion. From six to adolescence the taboos against incest and homosexuality are intellectually thrust upon the

children. The wholly different results could be seen during this research. The men, who had lived a sort of innocent incest at their mothers' breasts, were very little disquieted by questions bearing on that sin, but homosexuality upset them frightfully. The women, trained to an opposite intimacy in childhood, were calm before the figure of Sappho and quailed at Œdipus.

Childhood sets up as natural a very close physical intimacy between mother and daughter, and between mother and son. The consequences in youth are that girls can maintain a far more intimate relationship to one another than boys are capable of. This is of little importance at this point in our discussion of the married state. On the other hand, boys are capable of a far deeper emotional feeling for their mothers without fear of taboos than girls for their fathers.

IV

A woman's unconscious conscience—if we may be indulged in the phrase—comes between her and her father in many ways. It appeared to throw completely out of kilter the answers of the women to the question: "Were you and your father always on affectionate terms?" Their answers were nervous and ill-considered. They could not be easily classified. They showed nothing in relation to the test of married happiness. Except in one regard. Those who had known no real father, who had had step-fathers or foster-fathers, were markedly unhappy in their marriages. There were five of these, and four were unhappily married.

Let us now look at the answers of the women to eight principal questions on their relations to their fathers and their brothers, let us note how their happiness in marriage checks up in the light of the theories on childhood already expounded, and let us compare the women with the men. The questions all had to do with persons of the opposite sex. Remembering that the men averaged 51 per cent happy in their marriages, and the women only 45 per cent, we have added 6 per cent to the women's figures to make the figures easily comparable on a basis of *average* happiness—which must be taken as 51 per cent.

First we will consider the questions which involve very little physical relationship, or which at any rate put the dispositional relationship higher in importance. Here the results for men and women should come nearest corresponding. Take the description of the parent's disposition. Sixty-two per cent of the men in this group who found their mothers wholly attractive had been happily married: with a correction of 6 per cent, the women's percentage was 59. An attractive disposition in the fathers of these women was necessary to their married happiness, but not quite so important as in the case of the men and their mothers. An unattractive disposition made for less than average happiness, again not so markedly in the women.

A large number of women were unable to answer that question properly—another hint of the incest taboo blocking the response—and there was a similar group of inarticulate femininity when it came to the question of whether the mate resembled physically the parent of the opposite

sex. Close to the same number of men and women said "No," and, although the men had shown a much lower percentage of happiness—35 per cent—the women were still below the average, when their grade had been corrected to 46 per cent. Seventeen men said "Yes," and they were 94 per cent happy in their marriages. The sudden inarticulateness of the women when confronted with a relationship involving the physical appearance of their fathers left only five out of the hundred that could answer definitely "Yes." Three of these were happily married, but the group is too small to prove much.

Fewer women hedged on the resemblance in disposition between the husband and the father, and the results came close to those of the men and their wives and mothers. Sixty-seven per cent of the men who saw a resemblance on this score were happily married, and the figure for the women, when corrected for comparison, comes to 60 per cent. Parents who were unlike mates in disposition produced men who were only 40 per cent happily married, and women—with the correction—only 45 per cent happy. Again the women followed the men, but struck nearer the average.

Having had a sister or a brother proved equally important to the happiness of the men and the women. Where they had no brothers or sisters, they were equally unhappy in their marriages and could score no better than 38 per cent, even with the women's correction. Having a sister or two put the men 4 per cent above the average of their sex: having one or more brothers put the women 7 per cent above. It is certainly safer for a woman to have brothers and perhaps a little

more important than for men to have sisters.

When it comes to the attractiveness of the brother's disposition, the women who reported favorably averaged higher than the men in happiness when we made the 6 per cent correction. The men with sisters of attractive disposition graded at 71 per cent; the women with attractive brothers at 67 per cent and we must add that extra 6 per cent on top of that.

So much for five questions where the physical aspect of father or brother, or an emotional attachment for the parent of the opposite sex plays no part.

V

The physical upsets the apple cart for the women even when it has to do with the brother. The men, schooled as boys to a direct physical relationship with the persons of the opposite sex within the family walls, showed 71 per cent of married happiness when they alluded to only attractive physical features in their sisters, 51 per cent when they alluded to only neutral features, and 42 per cent when they alluded to any unattractive features. The women exactly reversed the order. They kept above the margin of average happiness throughout, but—with the correction—only 52 per cent were happy who spoke of attractive physical features in their brothers, 59 per cent who spoke of only neutral features, and 69 per cent who spoke of unattractive features. Apparently a woman is safer to have a brother no matter what she may think of his physical appearance; but the happiest woman remembers something unattractive about his phy-

sique and the least happy remembers him too admiringly.

In the case of the physical attractiveness of the fathers, the women reversed the grading of the men, though both sexes could not report unattractive features without rueing it. The unattractive father drove married happiness clear down to 9 per cent without the 6 per cent added in. The father who called out only neutral comments made for 48 per cent married happiness, a little above the average. The father who seemed only attractive physically raised the percentage but slightly—to 50 per cent. The men—so closely intimate with their mothers in childhood—were unhappy if they did not admire their mothers' beauty, and a little less than average happy if they admired it extravagantly and thereby risked never escaping from her hold over their emotions. They were definitely happier than the rest of their kind—61 per cent happy—if they reported neutral physical qualities in their mothers. So far as the women are concerned, the fear of too great physical fondness for their fathers kept their grades on admiration to an average figure. They did not have to be neutral—as the men did—in order to be sure of the greatest happiness. The way of escape from their mothers' apron strings was easy.

VI

One question remains: "During your life with your parents were you fonder of one parent than of the other?" The men—having always to break the powerful physical intimacy and attachment of the boy for the mother if they were to

marry at all or to marry successfully—found it fairly safe to be fond of the parent of the same sex; this brought them 60 per cent of happy marriages. The women met them evenly enough at this point; with the correction, 59 per cent of them were happy. The men found it dangerous to be too fond of the mother, and under that condition graded only 44 per cent happy. Although the women had no such deterrent, they had the great fear of physical intimacy with the father to bring their grade only 3 per cent above the average for the whole hundred. Perhaps the most striking divergence of the whole research comes on the comparison of those who were equally fond of both parents. This shot the men up to 70 per cent, but the women sank to 36 per cent without the 6 per cent correction.

The grade of 70 per cent seems natural enough for the men considering that equal fondness for both parents let them keep a real affection for the mother and yet protected them from their great danger, too absorbing a devotion to her. To explain the women's low figures, we might go to Byron:

> Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,
> 'Tis woman's whole existence.

If she divides her fondness, even in childhood, she shatters that concentration of emotion which she must live by later on. It is better for her to center on one parent—no matter which—for overfondness of the mother cannot be the drag upon her interest in marriage which it is upon the men. Then she can center it again on the man she marries. A man is capable of spreading his interest

over both home and business. He can even give his love to more than one woman without disastrous results to himself. He generalizes his emotions—just as he generalized his opinions in this research—and he generalizes very comfortably from the base of a childhood fondness for both parents.

VII

Two of the questions had to do with the type of mate that the subject would want to marry. Did the man feel naturally attracted to women of his mother's physical type; did he feel naturally attracted to women of his mother's mental type? And the same for the women.

So far as the men were concerned, they reacted very nicely according to plan. They were happier if they preferred their mothers' type in physique and also in disposition. They were characteristically unhappy if they had an antagonism to their mothers' physical type. If they preferred their mothers' type in either physique or disposition or a type unlike their mothers' in physique, they were happiest if they had married someone like their mother, next happiest if they had married someone neither wholly like nor wholly unlike, and they were unhappy only if they had married someone definitely unlike the mother. Where they had a prejudice against their mothers' disposition—which was the result of a violent effort to escape from the toils of being a "mother's boy"—the whole pattern was reversed. They progressed to happiness by marrying away from their mothers' type.

A study of the women's responses shows results that fit in with the statement that it is untrue to

say "Father is to Daughter as Mother is to Son." Very few of the women who could admit prejudices in favor of the tabooed father had married men like him. These were not so happy as the corresponding men, though they were more than average happy. Where the women favored their fathers' type either physically or mentally, they were happiest—markedly happy in fact—if they married someone neither unlike nor like, someone conveniently combining the best of both extremes. They were most unhappy if they married men wholly unlike their fathers—just as they had been *en masse* whatever their prejudices. They reversed the men again where they had prejudices against their fathers' physical type. With the physical out of the picture, they reacted like the men once more where they had a prejudice against their fathers' disposition. Comparing the women with prejudices in favor of their fathers' physical and mental types and those with prejudices against them, they seemed unhappiest if they blocked a preference and happiest if they followed an antagonism. The fear of incest seems to turn woman contrary.

Presuming that present preferences follow lines established in childhood, let us see what we might recommend to women of decided prejudices:

It is a little safer to want to fall in love with your father's physical type than his opposite, though neither is much more than average safe.

If you have a prejudice against your father's physique, it is highly dangerous to follow this prejudice too far, and it is very safe indeed to marry a man of neutral type.

It is neither very safe nor very unsafe to want to marry a man opposite physically from your father.

If you have this prejudice, it is safe to follow it, as most of these women did, and distinctly hazardous to choose a neutral.

As with the men, *it is safer to have prejudices about disposition than about physique.*

If you want to marry a man like your father mentally, you may be happier than the run of wives.

If you go counter to this prejudice, you may be most unhappily married. You will do very well to follow it and still better to compromise on neutrality.

It is safest of all—83 per cent safe—to want to marry a man unlike your father mentally.

If you have this prejudice, you had better follow it—most of the women did so—and you had better beware of playing safe with a neutral.

VIII

Let us go back and try to see what situations and ideas in the lives of these hundred women corresponded with more than average married happiness. Remembering that the average for all the women was 45 per cent, see the order into which these things fall:

67 per cent were happy who saw only attractive traits in their brothers' disposition.

63 per cent were happy who saw unattractive things in their brothers' physique.

60 per cent were happy whose husbands resembled their fathers physically (only 5 women answering on this point).

55 per cent were happy who were fonder of mother than father.
54 per cent were happy whose husbands resembled their fathers in disposition.
54 per cent were happy who saw only attractive traits in their fathers' disposition.
53 per cent were happy who saw only neutral things in their brothers' physique.
52 per cent were happy who had one or more brothers.
50 per cent were happy who saw only attractive things in their fathers' physique.
48 per cent were happy who saw only neutral things in their fathers' physique.

By and large, the married happiness of men and women seems to lie in finding a mate who is to some extent the image of the parent of the opposite sex either physically or mentally or both. Unfortunately women seem a little less prone than men to want to marry along these lines—due, it would seem, to the incest taboo—and men are none too eager to follow nature's recipe for married happiness. This should account for a considerable supply of unhappy marriages. Yet even if men and women were conscious of the necessity for marrying the mother-image and the father-image, they would find this none too easy to manage. For it is not alone necessary for the woman to find a man like her father who will want to marry her. It is also necessary that she should resemble the mother-image which this man carries about with him. Perhaps this is the explanation of true "love at first sight." A mathematician would calculate a rather small ratio of chance for this. Yet it is from such fortunate meetings and pairings that the happiest of our marriages arise.

IX

Fathers and mothers can affect the married happiness of their daughters and sons in more ways than one—as this research demonstrated. The parents' own unhappiness—if it is allowed to show—can affect the ability of the children to make happy marriages.

There were twenty men who said their parents had not got along well together. Only 40 per cent of these men were happily married. The parents of some of these had been separated or divorced; but, whether they were living in this condition or under the same roof, their sons were still 40 per cent happy in their own marriages—more than 10 per cent below average.

As you might expect from the earlier facts of this chapter, the women were still more adversely affected by unhappy parents:

21 women had had mismated parents . . .	33% happy
14 of these had had divorced parents .	37% happy
7 of these had had mismated parents living together	28% happy

These figures force three conclusions:

If parents wish their children to be able to make happy marriages, they must see to it that their own marriages are as happy as possible.

They must not betray their unhappiness by quarrel or criticism—particularly to their daughters, whom it affects even more than the sons.

If parents who are unhappily married cannot adjust their differences, or remain silent on them so far as the children can understand, they had better separate or divorce. If they don't, their daughters will have a still smaller chance of ever marrying happily themselves.

CHAPTER XI

BEHIND THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX

Self-love as much a mainspring of life as sex-love. Testing the sense of inferiority in two hundred men and women. Grading their self-confidence, the women ranking higher than the men. The disastrous effect on self-confidence of the belief on the part of men that they are sexually inferior.

Any thoroughgoing study of marriage is bound to emphasize the fact that self-love is just as much the mainspring of life as sex-love. This research was no exception. It showed, indeed, that self-love plays a tremendously important part—sometimes a disastrously important part—in the sexual life upon which marriage is founded. It showed this most vividly through the various ways in which the men and women were conscious of real or imagined inferiorities.

When the banner of Freudianism first crossed the frontiers of Intelligentsia the idea that sex-love was of supreme importance in life seemed wild, impossible, and indecent. Now that Freud has become a kind of Il Duce of psychology the declaration that self-love is equally important may strike the layman as just as astonishing and absurd, if not so offensive. And yet the very fact that the notion of the "inferiority complex" is the most popular offshoot of Freudianism today, ought to show the layman the power and position of self-love.

The bearing of self-love on sex-love is intimate and complex. The two things are almost insep-

arable. Sex-love is of undeniable importance outside the amorous relations which culminate in marriage. Self-love is just as important within the love-life. It is impossible to say—without guessing—which is in general the more potent. Since we are more superstitious about sex than we are about self—more ignorant, more credulous and more violent—it may be that sex holds greater power for injury. Yet love of self is so involved in sex, and sex is so important a factor in our estimate of ourselves and our attempts to satisfy our egos, that it is very unsafe indeed to try to say that self-love and its effects end here, and that sex-love and its effects begin there. These two passions are not neatly departmentalized in the human personality. They make up a dynamic whole. We live by them both.

Self-love plays a larger part in the life of a child, because sex is then vaguely pervasive and not sharply defined and developed. So far as adults are concerned, certain psychologists are inclined to believe that self-love is a bigger factor in the love-life of women than of men. Freud is one of these. He is not always fair to women, for he regards them as sexually inferior to men, and in this case he seems to have erred along the line of his prejudice. He believes that when a man and a woman fall in love their inner experiences are in general quite different. The man is more apt to get his emotional satisfaction from bestowing his love; the woman is more apt to get hers from joining him in a common love and adoration of herself. The examiner's experience, both as a research psychologist and as a clinical psychiatrist, leads him to believe that Freud is both

right and wrong. Freud has observed a very significant difference in human attitudes toward love; but the examiner feels we have hardly the right to label one masculine and the other feminine. His records suggest that men are at least as much inclined as women to combine sex-love and self-love in this fashion. If you care to call these men feminine, you are merely engaged in the game of definitions.

Here, for the moment, the examiner and the writer do not see quite eye to eye. The writer's opinion is merely that of a layman, and it rests on nothing solider than general observation, yet the examiner thinks it would be well if his collaborator aired their disagreement by citing the aspects of human behavior which have appeared to him to agree with Freud's theory that in the love relationship women seem generally more centered on themselves than do men. In the cult of beauty, which ministers largely to sexual desire, the body of woman is the center of worship, not the body of man. So far as painting is erotic, it deals with the nude and the beautiful in woman, not in man. If you say that this is caused by the fact that the artists are predominantly men, the writer replies that this very fact fits the Freudian picture. It shows man busy with objective activities, and his mate concentrated on the subjective life that turns in upon the beloved woman and the pregnant and nourishing body. Pass from the generalities of art—filled with amorous meaning—to the particularities of personal love, and the emphasis lies in the same direction. Man is the pursuer; woman the object of pursuit. Man proposes marriage; woman accepts or rejects. Man,

the lover, raves of the woman's charms; woman, the loved one, spends much time and money on the perfection or the imitation of the beauty man admires. In the love feat itself, man is active and penetrating; woman passive and receiving. Man, we say, possesses the woman, but is it more than a poetic expression of the tremendous and obsessive power which this double love of self and of sex has over the woman who has felt it culminate within her?

This is an over-elaborate and a very one-sided description of a tendency which the writer believes is generally true. On the other hand, he must agree with the examiner that, at the most, it is only a general tendency which has almost as many exceptions as it has examples. It does not alter the fact that in one respect a healthy, wholesome man and a healthy, wholesome woman want the same thing from marriage. They want marriage to be a partnership in mutual admiration. Each wants to be the supremely valid personality in another supremely valid personality's scheme of things. That is a form of self-love just as inevitable and necessary as anything else in life.

Self-love is, after all, an inclusive and pervading passion. Without it life can no more exist in this generation than life will exist in the next without sex-love in this. The microscopic amoeba escapes the necessity of sex-love by propagating its kind through the division of cells; but it must have self-love if it is to exist at all. Self-love makes a man seek food, clothes, shelter, protection from the menaces of life, and a great variety of other satisfactions which, though they are not

essential to existence, must be enjoyed if the game is to be worth the candle.

II

One of the very strong impulses that arise from self-love is the desire of a man to be regarded by his fellows as a person of consequence. He wants what might be called a superior tribal rating. The lack of it is less likely to put a man's life in danger in New York than in Central Africa; but anywhere in the world it insures at least some satisfaction of his major cravings.

The good opinion of our fellows varies in importance to us with the position the outside individual holds in our scheme of life. John Doe's appraisal is unimportant, because his life never touches ours except on an occasional morning when we pass him on the street going to work. We are dimly aware that we have passed him from time to time in the last few years, that he looks fairly prosperous and intelligent, and that he may or may not make a similar appraisal of us. Of course if he happens to cast a respectful glance in our direction, we feel a little better for it.

Richard Roe belongs to our club. We have nothing in common. We don't know one another. Nevertheless, it would please us if he were to do something to suggest that we impress him as, on the whole, an asset rather than a liability to our club. We hope he isn't thinking of us when he remarks to a visiting friend: "Our membership is very uneven in quality. I don't know how some of them managed to crash the gate."

But consider the case of William Green, president of the company we work for. Here it is of vital importance what a fellow-human thinks of our capacities and our less tangible assets as a person. Our rating in our particular tribe—as well as our bread and butter—is more dependent on his opinion than on any other factor.

This craving to have our fellows minister to our self-love goes back to the beginnings of childhood. It found its earliest satisfaction in our relation to a woman. However ugly and insignificant a brat we may have been in the eyes of all other persons, she appreciated our importance and prized us so highly that we were absolutely sure of her benevolence. If she hadn't loved us in this special kind of way, we would have had a miserable time of it. Quite likely we would have died. From our adolescence onward we come to realize that the benefits we derived from her, along with a lot of new ones of which little boys are never more than dimly aware, can be had only from women. But we also discover that other women subject us to far more realistic appraisal than it was possible for our mother to make. So we become touchy about our disabilities. We try to conceal them, make a display of our assets, and even convince ourselves that we are amply equipped. Occasionally we escape from competition and comparison by making a virtue out of admitting our shortcomings.

III

Of all the psychological lore that has followed from Freud's first intuitions and analyses, the most widely known and most accepted have to do

with our sense of inferiorities. "Inferiority complex"—the phrase invented by Dr. Alfred Adler of Vienna to describe the fear of personal inadequacy—is oftener heard than any other psychoanalytic term. Our exaggerated interest in this phenomenon is natural enough. Man might be called the animal with the inferiority complex. Most of his civilization and all of his art have arisen from it. Supplied with an apprehensive mind, he has thrown himself with special violence into activities of self-expression which would raise him psychologically above his fellows and compensate him for physical shortcomings. The tiger has never felt it necessary to buttress his self-respect by inventing wheeled carts or writing sonnets, for the tiger has always been a perfect animal—or a dead one. Man has been able to vary more than any other animal in physical strength, and—thanks to his brain—still live, and, what is more, propagate his kind. This is not an ability in which he has reveled. Indeed he has always paid homage to the physically perfect animal by recognizing his own bodily shortcomings as deeply disturbing inferiorities. He discovered very quickly that he could not add a cubit to his physical stature by taking thought, but he was fortunate enough also to discover that taking thought would add considerably more than a cubit to his stature in the community. And now—under the guidance of Freud and Adler—he is busily taking thought on why he has been taking thought—with considerable advantage to his sense of personal importance.

This business of the inferiority complex is fairly complicated. The sense of inferiority may

lie in one of three levels of consciousness. A man may be thoroughly conscious of a shortcoming. He may be only vaguely aware of it and feel it rather than recognize it. Or the sense of inferiority may lie so deep in his unconscious mind that the man is entirely unaware of its existence. Whatever sense he may have of it, the inferiority may be either real or imagined. It doesn't matter. His figure may actually be weakly effeminate, but it is enough if he merely imagines it is; indeed, if his father violently and cruelly impressed the idea on his mind when he was four years old, he may never be consciously aware that it is true or not, and still his unconscious mind will be warped by it. The point is that, whether true or false, the thing is a subjective inferiority to him.

The result of a subjective inferiority—or an inferiority complex—is a special sort of behavior which either compensates a man for his shortcoming or saves him from suffering so much from it. While sharp discriminations in this matter of psychology must partake of the nature of caricature, it is possible to outline three main patterns of behavior in the man with a subjective inferiority. He may try to bluff his way through life by pretending to be more than he is and to have more than he has. He may try very hard to develop the quality he lacks, or, more likely, develop other qualities by way of compensation. Or he may disarm criticism or comparison by admitting his shortcoming, like a lubberly big puppy that openly confesses his inferiority on the approach of an adult dog by rolling over on his back and raising his legs helplessly in the air.

The last method is harmless to everyone but the man in the case. The second method creates the real values of civilization and art. The first can be horribly destructive to anyone with whom the man comes in contact. It takes a peculiarly evil form when the inferiority is buried in the unconscious. Instead of being conscious of "I am a poor fish," the man is impelled to tell lies that maximate his ego, to escape into alcoholism, or to "high-hat" or "wise-crack" anybody whose real or imagined inferiority gives him an easy opening.

Perhaps the simplest and clearest and commonest cases of subjective inferiorities that create compensating superiorities come from physical disabilities. The man who falls several inches short of average height has a much stronger motive for throwing his shoulders back than the man who finds Pullman berths too short. If lack of stature happens to be associated with a little native ability to start with, the runt may have a fair chance of outstripping better-gifted six-footers. Perhaps, if Bismarck had been a foot shorter, he would have made himself Emperor in place of the Hohenzollern; and Napoleon might have been merely one of the marshals of France if he had been a foot taller. Coming closer home, we find the star athlete of college selling bonds in later life to a millionaire who had gone through college inwardly humiliated by the sense that he was too puny to make the team.

As this research in marriage was entirely objective, and dealt only with facts consciously supplied by the men and women, the information on their subjective inferiorities has to do only with

those in the conscious mind. We know nothing about the inferiorities they vaguely felt or were wholly unconscious of. And for our purposes it does not matter whether the inferiorities were real or imagined. In either case they were real to the men and women.

IV

For certain purposes the examiner wished to learn in what directions these men and women felt a sense of inferiority, and he wanted to arrive at a system of grading which would indicate their self-confidence. In order to do this, he asked the men and women if they feared or had feared that they might seem defective in any one of nine ways. For the men these nine ways were —effeminate, under-sized, lacking courage, lacking forcefulness, physically unattractive, stupid, tiresome, an "easy mark," and socially awkward. For the women they were—masculine, too big, too little, lacking forcefulness, stupid, tiresome, physically unattractive, lacking in charm, and lacking social grace. He asked the men if they feared they might seem inferior in such fashion in the eyes of *men,* and in the eyes of *women,* and he questioned the women in the same way.

Not all the answers were simple negatives or affirmatives. Some admitted former fears and a few gave inconclusive answers. The examiner thought it wise to recognize only positive denials as indicating that the man or woman lacked a sense of inferiority in a particular respect. Here are the most important fears—numerically speaking—that these two hundred men and women felt

as to appearing inferior in the eyes of their fellows; or, if you prefer, here is a list of the inferiorities from which the largest number of the hundred men suffered:

60 men feared they were *socially awkward* . . . . . in *women's* eyes
58 men feared they *lacked forcefulness* . in *men's* eyes
56 men feared they were *socially awkward* . . . . . in *men's* eyes
54 men feared they *lacked courage* . . in *men's* eyes
48 men feared they were *tiresome* . . . in *women's* eyes
40 mean feared they were *physically unattractive* . . . . . in *women's* eyes

The six outstanding subjective inferiorities of the hundred women totaled up as follows:

58 women feared they *lacked charm* . . in *men's* eyes
51 women feared they *lacked social grace* in *women's* eyes
45 women feared they were *physically unattractive* . . . . . in *men's* eyes
44 women feared they *lacked charm* . . in *women's* eyes
43 women feared they *lacked social grace* in *men's* eyes
43 women feared they were *tiresome* . in *men's* eyes

The men were least worried about seeming effeminate in the eyes of women; only seventeen of them feared this. The women found three inferiorities that disturbed them the least; seven reported fears of seeming too little in the eyes of both men and women, and the same number of seeming masculine in the eyes of women.

V

So much for some of the more obvious inferiorities that bothered these people. Now let us look at the other side of the picture, their self-confidence. If the reader cares to grade himself

in this regard, let him follow the method that the examiner used on the two hundred men and women. Let him write down Yes or No as to whether he fears that he may seem deficient in any of the nine ways in the eyes of men or in the eyes of women. This will give him eighteen chances to say No and win one point for each denial. He can, of course, answer Yes eighteen times and record a grade of zero. It may interest him to compare his grade with the average of his own sex in this research.

The hundred men amassed 1,144 points, or an average of 11.44 apiece. The women very much surprised the examiner by doing better—1,274 points or an average of 12.74. This is a result that will probably astonish the layman and many dabblers in psychology.

There are a number of reasons for imagining that women as a whole have less self-confidence—or a greater sense of inferiority—than men. As a whole they are physically inferior to men. Whether they are dependent on their husbands or fathers for support, or have jobs outside the home, they are constantly encountering situations which tend to give them a sense of economic inferiority. Finally men place such an emphasis on the physical beauty of women, and the world in general rates them so much in terms of dress and social position, that almost every woman must have a sense of falling below a very difficult standard. She must be unusually good looking, faultlessly dressed, and socially in an assured position to be as comfortable about herself as she would like to be. Women do not set such high tests for men.

Against all this we must place two important factors that tend to increase a woman's good opinion of herself, and the research developed one powerful factor that bears down on men's self-esteem. To begin with, a man in love sees a great deal more beauty in his sweetheart than is actually there, and the whole process of courtship involves so much masculine exaggeration and hyperbole that almost any woman finds some man comparing her charms not unfavorably with those of Venus. Secondly—and this does a very great deal indeed unconsciously to bolster up the ego of woman—her rôle in motherhood gives her the center of the stage in the great drama of creation. She contains within herself a miraculous and complete fulfillment. Grant her the love of a man, and a career opens to her in which she is almost certain to achieve her special and unique end. And then, for many years, she has the love and devotion of sons and daughters to replace any slackening in the affections of her husband.

Men, on the other hand, encounter in this very business of love a dangerous source of fear which does more than any one factor to create a sense of inferiority and undermine self-confidence. This is the fear that sexually they are not as other men. A surprisingly large number of men have an exaggerated idea of the sex anatomy of their fellows, and consequently believe that they are undersized. In answer to a question on this point, only fifty-nine men out of the hundred said without reservation that they believed themselves as well developed sexually as most men. After some years of matrimony, nine had a present and active fear of this physical inferiority. Thirteen

thought that they might be deficient, but did not seem greatly concerned. Fifteen had had such a fear but had got over it.

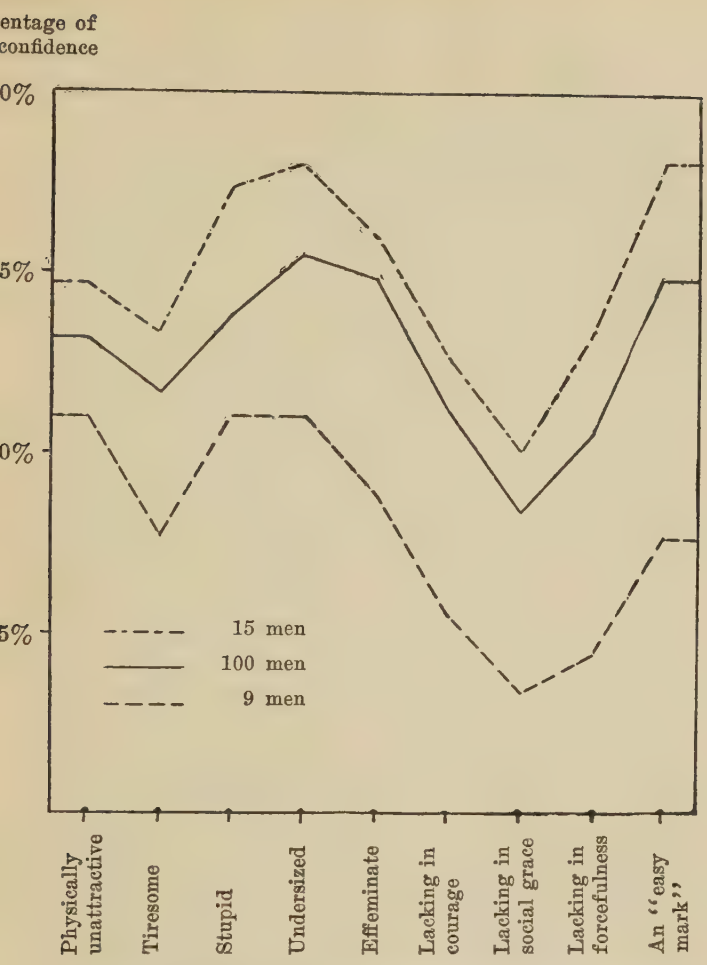
VI

How important this fear can be is shown clearly and even dramatically when we examine the self-confidence grades of these different groups of men:

100 men, comprising the whole group, had a self-confidence grade of	11.44
59 men who never feared they were sexually inferior had a grade of	11.95
9 men who then feared they were sexually inferior had a grade of	7.11
15 men who had had such a fear but got over it had a grade of	13.33

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the fear of sexual inferiority breeds fears of other inferiorities. See what a striking drop in self-confidence the nine apprehensive men present. They are only sixty per cent as self-confident as the average. Their fear of seeming sexually inferior seems to have corrupted their sense of well-being in many other directions. They lack confidence in every one of the nine categories much more than does the average man of the research.

The average grade of the fifteen men who once feared this physical inferiority shows as marked a tendency—with a kind of reverse English. They have rid themselves of this fear, and the result seems to be that their fears in other directions disappear and their self-confidence surges up like a cork that is released under water. Instead of registering a grade of 7, like the men still



A graph showing how self-confidence—or, inversely, sense of inferiority—was affected by a belief in sexual inferiority. Along the bottom appear the nine categories concerning which the men were asked if they felt that other men thought them inferior. The solid line in the middle represents the proportion of self-confidence in the whole group of one hundred. The lower line represents the nine men who had an active fear that their sex parts were smaller than those of other men. The upper line represents the fifteen men who had once had such a fear, but who had got over it.

ridden by this physical fear, or a grade of 11, like the average, they turn in 13.

This physical fear would seem to account for the lower average of the men as compared with the women. It is obvious enough that an imagined or a real defect of this kind is much more apparent in a man than in a woman, and it must therefore be more powerful. Seven women confessed to a fear that their sex anatomy was unlike that of other women; but their self-confidence grades averaged almost identically the same as that of the whole hundred. Women are also protected from a destructive fear that they may be defective in sexual function. Woman is anatomically and traditionally assigned a passive rôle. Her part in the sex act can seem effective and successful even when she does not reach as complete a climax as the man. A man's failure is hideously obvious to the woman as well as to himself.

The preceding graph shows clearly how the sense of sexual inferiority affected the self-confidence of the men all along the line. By taking the average of the hundred men as a norm, you can trace in which directions those men with sexual fears were most affected. For the purposes of this graph the *percentage* of self-confidence, rather than the *grade* of self-confidence is shown.

The particular form that the questions on self-confidence took provides an interesting complication. The men and women were asked not merely whether they feared inferiority in some one of nine directions, but also whether they feared to seem inferior in these ways in the eyes of their

own sex and in the eyes of the other. In the last few pages the grades of the men and women have been computed by adding up their eighteen scores —nine having to do with their mental attitudes towards one sex and nine with their attitudes towards the other. Let us separate out the average grade of the hundred husbands as they estimated themselves in the eyes of other men and in the eyes of women, and let us do the same for the hundred wives. Remember that this is expressed in terms of self-confidence, not inferiority, and that a high grade is desirable. The grades for the nine categories have been doubled to make comparison easier with the grades for the eighteen.

Average grade of *men* based on fear of seeming inferior to *other men*	11.04
Average grade of *men* based on fear of seeming inferior to *women*	11.76
Average grade of *women* based on fear of seeming inferior to *women*	13.16
Average grade of *women* based on fear of seeming inferior to *men*	12.32

The natural expectation would be that each sex would be more fearful of appearing inferior in the eyes of the opposite sex. So far as this research goes this was true for the women, but not for the men. Both men and women were more fearful of the opinion of the *men*. The first explanation that occurs to one is that this tendency of men to worry about a physical comparison of their sex anatomy with other men's would produce the odd result just noted. This is borne out by the fact that the men said in thirty-three cases that they had *formerly* feared some inferiority—

as in courage, forcefulness, etc.—*in the eyes of other men,* while only nine examples of these *former* inferiorities cropped up in the women; remember that most of the men had feared sexual inferiority.

When we analyze this matter of man-to-man and man-to-woman, as it worked out in all nine of the categories, and compare the results for the nine sexually-apprehensive men, for those that had a former fear and for the whole hundred, we get the graph on the opposite page.

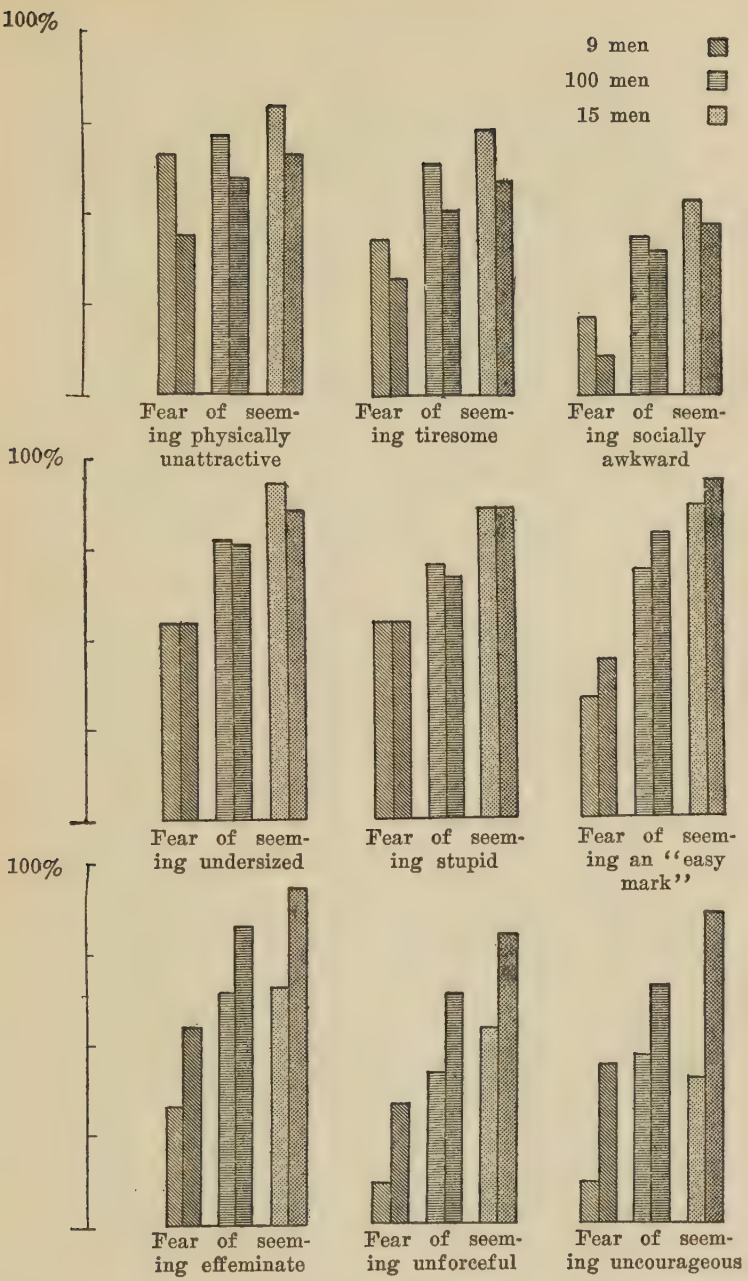
On very close analysis, we see that a sense of sexual inferiority makes the men more fearful of seeming effeminate and lacking in courage in the eyes of men, and undersized and physically unattractive in the eyes of women.

VII

A man's estimate of his sexual potency—like his estimate of his sexual physique—appears to bear a significant relationship to his degree of self-confidence. The men of this research who rated themselves as less potent than the average showed also a low self-confidence grade—9.6. Those who believed themselves average in potency were just a little above the average in self-confidence, which, you may recall, was 11.44. Some said they had never given any thought to

---

The graph opposite shows the self-confidence of the nine men who feared they were sexually inferior, the whole group of one hundred, and the fifteen who had had such a fear but had recovered from it. Each group of six columns has to do with some other fear, such as seeming physically unattractive, tiresome, etc. The first column in each group represents the fear of the nine men that they might appear unattractive or tiresome, etc., in the eyes of *other men;* the second and darker column, in the eyes of *women.* The third and fourth columns do this for the whole hundred; the fifth and sixth for the fifteen.


100%
9 men
100 men
15 men
Fear of seeming physically unattractive
Fear of seeming tiresome
Fear of seeming socially awkward
100%
Fear of seeming undersized
Fear of seeming stupid
Fear of seeming an "easy mark"
100%
Fear of seeming effeminate
Fear of seeming unforceful
Fear of seeming uncourageous

the matter—unquestionably a sign of a normal, undisturbed attitude toward their sex-lives—and these showed a grade of 13.46. The men who claimed that they were above the average as to potency were just a little below the average of self-confidence. Potency is not, after all, as objective a fact as anatomy, and it may be that here we have an example of men with inferiority complexes not based directly on the sexual who are making an unconscious compensation by imagining themselves unusually potent. Only one of the nine men who believed themselves anatomically deficient and only one of the fifteen who had got over such fear, classed themselves as more potent than most men.

VIII

The bearing on one another of self-confidence grades and happiness in marriage is interesting, significant, and yet puzzling. Here are the statistics:

51 satisfied husbands—average self-confidence grade	11.92
49 dissatisfied husbands—average self-confidence grade	10.86
45 satisfied wives—average self-confidence grade	13.73
55 dissatisfied wives—average self-confidence grade	11.91

Clear as these figures may be, they leave us puzzled as to cause and effect. Does lack of self-confidence—evidence of a marked inferiority complex—make happy marriage difficult, or does the success of marriage promote self-confidence, and its failure promote a sense of inferiority?

One thing about subjective inferiorities is certain: Few things seem quite so destructive for

men as a sense of anatomical inferiority in the sex organ. That impression grows all the stronger when we look into the record of the married happiness of the men who had been troubled in this fashion. Out of the nine men who came into the research with an active sense of such inferiority, only one was happily married. On the other hand, out of the fifteen who had recovered from this fear nine—or 60 per cent—were happy with their wives. The obvious conclusion is that—destructive as this fear may be—its removal promotes self-confidence and happiness above the average.

Conditions in the urban, mechanized America of today seem to favor the development of subjective inferiorities and also an inflated urge towards hurtful compensations. Social conditions are not likely to change. Very few men or women can afford the time and money for a thorough enough psychoanalysis. For the rest, however, there is a mental attitude which can do a very great deal to eliminate the hurtful attempts at ego-maximation—high-hatting, wise-cracking, and general victimization—which are the worst by-products of the inferiority complex. This attitude consists in shifting the mental focus from yourself to the other person. Observe his actions and attitudes rather than your own, and try to estimate how far they are defensive or compensatory. You will shortly find yourself looking with distaste on any urge towards the same behavior. You will be less eager to hide, defend, or attack. You will ultimately make your sense of inferiority less important as a dictator of your actions and your life. And an unimportant sense of inferiority is not a very troublesome thing to live with.

CHAPTER XII

THE SKELETON AT THE FEAST

Almost half these normal women unable to experience complete satisfaction in the physical relationship. Inexperienced mates a partial cause. Evidence that the basic cause lies deeper in faulty sex education.

The physical relation between a man and a woman should end in an explosive sort of climax for the woman quite as much as for the man. A surprisingly large number of married women are ignorant of this, because somewhere between a third and a half of them have never felt such a climax. For this large minority physical love may be anything from unpleasant to tremendously exciting, but it never has that abrupt and complete acme of sensation beyond which lies an easy, languid release from the nervous tension that leads to sexual indulgence.

Some notion of how large a proportion miss this climax may be gathered from the reports of the women in the research. Forty-six out of the hundred had never experienced it, or else were so doubtful about this violent and unmistakable explosion that they may be safely set down as never having felt it. The examiner believes that this is a very fair index of the class from which these women came. If they had been exceptional in this regard, the fact should have shown up at other points where they were admittedly exceptional. For instance, one might argue that the type of woman who seeks a job outside the home is a sexually sub-normal type, and that, because

there was an unusually large number of wage-earning women in the research, they would distort the findings on this sexual climax. As a matter of fact the forty-six women who had earned more than $500 each since marriage showed the same proportion of failures to reach the climax as the rest.

It is not a question of sexual desire. It would be better if it were. Too often desire is far keener and more imperative in the women who cannot reach the climax than in their more fortunate sisters. These women are frequently tortured by a tension which drives them into effort after effort towards satisfaction, and which remains unrelieved in the end. No single thing—not even cruel and unnatural husbands—contributes quite so much to adultery. The nervous tension of unsatisfied desire goes far towards wrecking mind as well as happiness. The vital importance of this matter cannot be overstressed. *Out of forty-six women who could not reach the climax, no less than twenty were seriously neurotic.* They had been classed as psychoneurotics by other psychiatrists than the examiner. On the other hand, *only one of the fifty-four who knew the climax was nervously ill.*

These figures tell their own story, but they do not give us the explanation of one of the most significant and important phenomena of human sex pathology. Science is peculiarly ignorant on this subject. It has been very little studied—possibly because the majority of researchers in sex are men—and there is practically no material of value relating to either the physiological or the psychological aspects. The question is simple

enough: Why can't every woman of keen desire function normally in the physical relation with her husband or lover? It is easy to be glibly dogmatic, but research trusts neither dogma nor the advocate's persuasiveness. If we want to answer the question with some degree of scientific accuracy, we must first fall out of love with the particular guess that has thus far satisfied our passion for explaining things. We must cooly examine all the guesses that have been made, and then, if necessary, make some new ones. Here are nine of the more obvious possibilities:

1. The woman may be structurally defective in her sex organ.

2. She may be physiologically defective elsewhere, and these defects—such as disorders of the endocrine organs, very marked anemia, or a general lack of physical vitality—may prevent full physical satisfaction in love.

3. Her husband may be inept or impotent.

4. The fault may lie in the fact that she does not love her husband, that he is physically unattractive to her, or that there is discord between them which—as in the case of jealousy—may kill her desire for him without killing her love.

5. Fear of pregnancy may be the cause.

6. The trouble may be due to a conscious conviction that sex desire is wrong or shameful.

7. Her first experience may have been so painful physically that ever afterwards she shrank too violently from such a relationship to permit the climax to occur.

8. Her first experience may have been so revolting to her as to produce the same result.

9. Before adolescence her family and her social

environment may have impressed upon her—either directly or indirectly—a taboo of sex. They may have set up a whole group of unconscious prohibitions which block a complete emotional response to sex. This negative conditioning may have become so fixed a part of her make-up that no amount of correct thinking about sex in later life can overcome them.

These possibilities can be tested one at a time. Such testing calls for controlled observation; that is, all the evidence must be so unaffected by the process of observation that accurate comparisons are possible. This is the way of science. Obviously we cannot learn much from the example of one woman who has been given a certain taboo in childhood and who has developed an inability to reach the sexual climax; for we cannot go back in life, remove the particular conditioning that her parents imposed on her, give her another one instead, and then see what happens to her when she grows up. In a given case, any one of the nine guesses might seem an excellent explanation, and might indeed be the right explanation. Yet even then its relative importance as a cause of a sexual shortcoming would remain to be discovered. In this research we have a hundred cases—forty-six of them without the sex climax. They allow us to compare and strike averages. They give us a kind of straw vote. And, though straw votes may be misleading, they are a step away from speculative guessing and its medical twin-brother, generalizing from uncontrolled observation. If Aristotle had counted the teeth in even a very few human heads, he would not have been so solemnly sure that men have more teeth than

women. If he had merely felt up and down his own sides without prejudice, he would have decided that men have more than eight pairs of ribs.

II

As for the first of the nine possibilities—a structural defect—it may, of course, account for the difficulties of certain women; but physicians have found nothing whatever amiss with the physical organs of many, many women who never experience the climax. A serious structural defect must be obvious to any woman, and the examiner had no reason for supposing that any of the forty-six women suffered from such disability.

It is conceivable that women who are structurally sound may suffer from physiological defects that may affect their ability to reach the climax. Anaemia is one of these, as well as a general lack of vitality. But it is quite as conceivable that ill health of this sort may be the consequences of a baffled emotional life. Doctors repeatedly find women who have been healthy before marriage lapsing into an anaemic run-down condition after an unsatisfactory physical relationship has been established. The research provided no statistics on this point, either way.

A much more plausible factor would be some disorder in the endocrine system of glands. In this field medical knowledge is not very far advanced, yet it is possible to picture a female constitution in which badly functioning glands might cause many of the sexual eccentricities which the research finds associated with inability to reach the climax. These are the early advent of pu-

berty, frequent and short monthly periods, depressions associated with the periodic function, and irregular recurrence of sex desire. One can imagine such behavior and the lack of the climax to be occasioned by badly functioning glands. On the other hand, psychological conditions often influence the glands very markedly. In the war physicians observed a violent epidemic of thyroid troubles among civilians following the heavy bombardment of a town. Certainly there has been no notable success in attempts to correct sexual maladjustments by the prescription of glands. Glandular action, as well as difficulties over the climax, seems definitely affected by psychological conditioning.

III

A better guess is that a husband's ineptitude as a lover may have a good deal to do with a wife's sexual disability. Yet here again there may be a psychological factor of more importance than the physical, for the records seem to show that it is the husband's *initial* ineptitude that counts, rather than what he may come to learn about the arts of love.

We get these records by confining our attention to the fifty-five men and fifty-five women who came into the research as married couples, for here we have a check on the husbands of the women we are studying. Now the first striking fact is that the proportion of virginal or inexperienced husbands in this group is larger than among the one hundred men, and the proportion of the fifty-five wives who do not have the climax is larger, too, than among the one hundred women. The only accurate comparison, of course, lies

within the fifty-five couples; but this shows a striking balance in favor of the experienced lover as a kind of insurance policy for wives who wish the full normal experience. For our present purposes we may throw together two kinds of virgins —the true virgin who waits for the marriage ceremony, and what we might call the twilight virgin who does not wait; the point is that both were intimate with no woman before their present wives. Remembering that 46 per cent of the hundred women never felt the climax, you will find the following table clear enough in its meaning:

In the 55 Couples	*Per Cent of 55 Wives Without the Climax*
62 per cent of the husbands were inexperienced with any woman before they became intimate with their wives	62%
53 per cent of the husbands were virgins at marriage	59%
38 per cent of the husbands had been promiscuous	38%

The following table shows what proportion of women married to experienced men and of women married to virginal men had the climax the first year of marriage, later on, and never at all. The experienced husband is more effective the first year; and the virginal husband fares very badly in the end:

	Per Cent Married to Experienced Men	*Per Cent Married to Virginal Men*
21 women had the climax the first year . .	52%	48%
6 women had the climax later	34%	66%
28 women never have the climax	29%	71%

On the surface it looks as if the husbands' inexperience had played some part in holding back their wives from full physical satisfaction. And it looks as if this feminine disability had continued in spite of the fact that the husbands must have learned more about the technique of intercourse as their relations continued. It may well be that at the first encounter a woman is under such a tension of fear, anxiety, embarrassment, or shame that the man must have the greatest skill and understanding to ease this away, and it may be that if the ineptitude of the husband allows much time to pass before the wife experiences this climax, her unconscious mind may become permanently blocked against it.

On the other hand, our figures show that for the whole two hundred men and women the amount of attention paid to erotic preparation and variety of sexual play had no bearing on the matter. Those who learned to take a great deal of preliminary trouble over the act and those who did not turned in the same proportion of climaxes.

On the whole the possibility of ineptitude playing a large part in this situation brings out nothing more definite than that the wives of inexperienced men are not so likely to have the climax, and yet that no heavy emphasis on sexual byplay seems to produce results.

IV

Now we come to a fourth possibility—that a woman who does not love her husband may lack the climax because of this lack of love. If we try to discover this through the record of how far

these women were happy in their marriages, we get nothing but a negative result. The happy women were just a little more inclined to have the climax; a few more of the climactic were happy. But the figures are within two or three points of the average, and they do no more than show that the climax and the married happiness have no tremendous bearing on one another. There is a little more light in the cases of the fifteen women who were separated or divorced. Almost 75 per cent of them did not reach the climax during the first year of married life, and 53 per cent never reached it with their husbands. It is not so safe, however, to try to say what is cause and what is effect.

There is, of course, the possibility that women who miss the climax with their husbands may find it with other men. In fact a large proportion of these women said they thought they would get greater physical pleasure from other men than their husbands. But the evidence of the women who had tried to reach the climax in this way showed them still failing. If the man that a woman has loved well enough to marry cannot give her this satisfaction, no other man seems likely to do so.

The best evidence on all this topic of love and climax comes from a question which asked whether the woman wanted to go on living with her husband because she loved him. There were only seventy-five women who gave affirmative answers. Sixty-eight per cent of those who thus declared that they loved their husbands had reached the climax, against 53 per cent of those who did not love them. Almost half the women

who did not love their husbands never had found the full satisfaction of the climax, against only 32 per cent of those who did love their husbands. But it is just a little risky to try to say whether lack of love produces lack of climax or lack of climax produces lack of love.

V

Fear of pregnancy seems to have no more effect on the ability to reach the climax than the presence of the climax has to do with the ability to be pregnant. The latter idea, by the way, is surprisingly popular, and something of the flavor of superstition hangs around this notion that if a woman stops short of full culmination in the sex act she can no more conceive than if the man stops short. There is hardly any more truth in the theory that women are held back from the climax by fear of pregnancy. If the fear were violent enough, it might, like many another negative state of mind, inhibit her nervous reaction to her lover. But the statements of the hundred women show that fear of pregnancy is not so very violent or even at all general at any crucial time. It is only *after* pregnancy that a woman begins so actively to fear it. She is apt to escape this fear during the first year of marriage when the habit of climax—or the lack of it—is most likely to be established.

VI

But, even if the fear of pregnancy were active and violent upon the honeymoon, other facts in the research make one doubt whether such a negative state of mind could inhibit a woman's physical

response to her lover. These facts deal with the women's reaction to the first sex act with their husbands. You might theoretically expect that women who reacted with fear, disgust, or shock would be least likely to reach the ultimate climax even after months had passed. You might expect that such violently unpleasant associations would permanently block the full, normal response to love-making. As a matter of fact the results were just the opposite:

17 felt fright at the first sex act	12 or 71% now have the climax
24 felt fear, disgust, or shock	16 or 67% now have the climax
14 felt surprise	8 or 57% now have the climax
(*Average for 100 women*) .	(*54% now have the climax*)
57 had no unfavorable reaction	28 or 49% now have the climax

These figures certainly do not suggest that lack of the climax is frequently a result of an upsetting first experience. They even suggest that it is better for a woman to be alive enough to the situation to be capable of feeling fear, disgust, or shock, than to be less responsive emotionally.

Surely, you would imagine, a good deal of pain on this occasion would so condition a woman that she would have a slim chance of ever experiencing the climax. So far as these hundred women go, this is not true. Seventeen of them reported serious pain and more than half of them had reached the climax—only one per cent under the average.

VII

There is just as little evidence that women suffer this disability from a conscious conviction that

sex is wrongful. The cases of the eighteen women who did not experience the climax during the first year of marriage, but who reached it later, may seem to argue the opposite. Yet here we have no evidence that they were consciously puritanical, whereas the radically-minded wives who had convinced themselves that adultery was entirely justifiable had a very small proportion of climaxes. In the case of the eighteen it is more likely that the year or more of wedlock had worked an emotional and unconscious conversion which bit deeper than any intellectual prejudice against sex. It went deep enough, in fact, to remove or correct some early influence that had blocked their emotional life.

VIII

This matter of conscious conviction versus an inner and unconscious emotional bent is, of course, immensely important in all varieties of human behavior, but nowhere more than in this matter of sex and particularly the sexual climax. It is in the emotional biases which women unconsciously acquire in childhood that the root of the difficulty seems to lie.

An example quite apart from sex will show how this early and unconscious training or conditioning works. A Jewish friend of the examiner came to believe that pork was a wholesome and desirable food for men who were physically active in outdoor pursuits during the cold winter months. He directed the feeding of some pigs, saw to it that good, clean corn was turned into healthy flesh by the living animals, made sure that

they were slain and dressed under sanitary conditions, and supervised the cooking of a fine young pig. Intellectually and—so far as he was conscious of it—emotionally he was all set for a pleasant meal of roast pork. He ate it with gusto, but to his surprise, became ill and violently rejected the food. It is easy to explain this experience. He had been brought up in Russia by extremely orthodox Jewish parents in a community where pork was universally looked upon as a loathesome and disgusting indulgence of Gentiles. Thus very early in life his parents and his community established in his unconscious mind a negative and very strong reaction to this kind of food. It became almost as much a part of his reflex machinery as the inborn tendency to sneeze when the inside of his nose was irritated in a certain way. This negative conditioning against pork remained with him ever afterwards, and he could not change it by taking thought.

Now something of the same kind happens to all of us with regard to sex. It happens more violently to women than to men, because the fact that women bear the more serious consequences of sex makes parents emphasize the taboos of sex far harder in the case of girls than of boys. It does not have to be direct. Throughout childhood and to some degree in babyhood as well, a girl finds older people implying in almost everything they say or do about sex that it is unclean, revolting, and evil. Since desirable females eschew unclean, revolting, and evil things, it follows that from infancy onward the girl tends to develop a negative attitude towards her sexual cravings. Later in life, when she begins to debunk the im-

posed teachings of childhood, she does so largely in an intellectual way—much as the Jew made intellectual correction of what he had been led to believe and to *feel* about pork-eating when he was a little boy. If the intellect could correct the errors that people feel emotionally to be truths, the practise of psychiatry would be as easy, as effective—and almost as profitable—as the practise of dentistry or the mending of radios. And women would have as little difficulty as men in reaching the culminative climax of the sex act.

IX

Which brings us to the last and most promising possibility—the possibility that psychological conditioning in childhood obstructs the climax. There the truth seems most likely to lie. This much can be said on the basis of knowledge gained from this research. A great deal of evidence shows the climax occurring most often in connection with things that indicate very little adverse conditioning in childhood or the early passing of the taboo.

The first and most important evidence has to do with the early curiosities of these women about sex and with how these curiosities were met by their parents. These little girls were curious about the usual things—where babies came from and why their own bodies were different from the bodies of little boys. They were no more curious about these things than about how bread is made, where the clouds come from, and what makes lightning. At first their interest wasn't at all amoristic or morbid or unhealthy or obsessive;

but their parents saw it only as connected with that dreadful subject sex, something their own fathers and mothers had unwisely made them feel was dangerous or unclean, and something that had—for that reason among others—caused them a great deal of mental misery. So when the little girls asked their perfectly innocent, unimportant, and fleeting questions, the parents staggered back in terror or embarrassment, and said things that made the questions horrible, important, and eternally memorable in the secret processes of the unconscious mind. It was a little as if a child had brought a poisonous berry to her mother:

"What's this pretty berry?"

"Oh! Don't touch it! Put it down! It's deadly poison! Ugh!"

"But, mother, it looks good to eat—like a little cherry."

"Oh!" with a shriek of alarm and disgust, "throw that nasty, poisonous thing away this minute, Jenny Smith! Come, and let me wash your hands. Maybe some poison is sticking to them. It is deadly nightshade you had in your hand, darling. Never, never again in all your life have *anything to do with it.*"

Later, in the night: "Mother!"

"Yes, Jenny."

"I touched my lips with the hand I had those nasty poison cherries in. Will it kill me?"

"Not this time, Jenny, but you must never risk it again."

So it is with sex. Only, the scene is endlessly repeated with all sorts of variations. Sometimes it is done in pantomine, mother registering disgust, fear, embarrassment when sex appears in

the offing. More often the response is direct, and when the child displays curiosity, she is given lies or, still worse, embarrassed evasion, or, equally bad, some nambypamby story about birds and flowers and bees. Anything in fact but a simple, realistic account of how an immodest and wicked God gave us sex parts and an inclination to be curious about them—even an inclination to function with them.

Let us begin with the reactions that the parents of these women showed when their little girls began to ask questions about sex:

15 little girls met with encouragement .	11 or 73% now have the climax
(*Average for 100 women*) .	(*56% now have the climax*)
9 met with neither encouragement nor rebuff	5 or 56% now have the climax
41 very wisely kept their curiosity to themselves, fearing their parents' rebuff . .	22 or 54% now have the climax
16 met with rebuff . . .	8 or 50% now have the climax
19 met with embarrassment, evasion, lies, stiffness, or were given poetically inadequate information	8 or 42% now have the climax

This table requires no comment, except, perhaps, that the forty-one little girls who kept their curiosities to themselves must have betrayed enough interest at some time or other to have aroused their parents' antagonism, and to have got a sense that they had better not ask and that sex was not nice—hence their low average. Yet, if they had pursued the subject, instead of keeping

their own counsel, their average would have been lower still.

The parents' hurtful attitude towards sex shows vividly in the cases of eighteen women who did not experience the climax until after the first year of marriage. Only one of these women had met with encouragement when she asked her parents questions about sex. Nine were rebuffed or were so conscious they would be rebuffed that they did not ask, and five "felt no curiosity," which probably amounts to ingrained fear based on an early rebuff.

There cannot be the slightest question that curiosity about sex—and the giving of true information on it—ought ideally to occur during very early childhood before the thing has any real emotional significance. Then, if the little girl has honest, intelligent parents, she will have an advantage over the outside world which lies in wait for her ready to convince her that sex is dirty and shameful. But if curiosity is to be met with rebuffs or lies, then the lucky child is the one who postpones her inquiries till puberty when even the most stupid parents will risk neither lies nor evasions. As things are, if she becomes curious while a child, she is likely to be stupidly dealt with, and childhood is exactly the time when she is so sensitive to influences that stupid taboos will affect her profoundly. With this preamble, the following table speaks for itself:

9 don't remember when curiosity came . .	7 or 78% now have the climax
22 had first curiosity at 12 or later . . .	14 or 64% now have the climax

41 had first curiosity between 6 and 11 . .	22 or 54% now have the climax
22 had first curiosity before 6	9 or 41% now have the climax
6 little girls had no curiosity (which means that some early and violent rebuff suppressed it . .	2 or 33% now have the climax

First curiosity is met almost invariably with anything but the truth. Some day, however, the child has to learn the facts, and statistics of the age at which the women of this research learned where babies come from show us how valuable it would be if parents told their little girls the truth about sex as early as possible:

10 learned it so early they don't remember when	9 or 90% now have the climax
15 learned it before they were 6	12 or 80% now have the climax
44 learned it between 6 and 11.	20 or 45% now have the climax
31 learned it at 12 or later	13 or 42% now have the climax

What they were told—or rather how the facts were presented—has its importance. Again the simple truth, unadorned with subterfuge or moral taboo, seems to work for a normal sex life for the woman:

24 learned mother's but not father's part .	17 or 71% now have the climax
17 had full adequate information	10 or 59% now have the climax
16 had vague but not false information .	7 or 44% now have the climax
29 had incorrect or repellent information .	12 or 41% now have the climax
5 were given the bees and flowers story .	2 or 40% now have the climax

The source of sex information can be of considerable importance—and this should be remembered by parents ready to deal honestly with their children—though it is probable that the source is more important after eleven than in childhood. The research showed that the mother is the best informant for a girl—in these cases 65 per cent of the women have the climax. Doubtless some of the mothers handled the matter with timidity; if they had all been frank and comfortable, the percentage would have been higher still. It is probably rather risky to leave instruction to females less closely related than the mother. They are likely to feel a certain embarrassment in talking about such intimate things with a child to whom they do not have maternal responsibilities—only 38 per cent of the women instructed by a female other than mother have the climax. Although other children will probably present the facts in an obscene and distorted form they will at least introduce some element of a positive and healthy sort in sharing the lurid and fascinating secret—the women who got their information this way were close to the average. One of the many curses of a civilization that has cut us off from the more primitive life of the soil is that we can never duplicate in towns the fortunate situation on a farm where a girl sees at every turn how matter-of-fact everyone is about the reproductive processes of his fellow creatures. The women who got their information as directly as this showed over 70 per cent of normal sex lives. It is suggestive that not one of the four women whose first sex information came from a father or a brother has ever experienced the climax. They must have un-

consciously placed sex under the taboo of incest. This idea is supported by the fact that in describing their fathers' physical appearance the only women who had more than the average proportion of climax were those who alluded to neutral qualities and no others; and also by the fact that those who had been fonder of their fathers than of their mothers showed a much lower proportion of climaxes.

Though the reception that a small child gives to sex information is apt to be very matter of fact, as the girl grows older and approaches puberty the subject takes on a growing importance and significance in keeping with her intellectual and physical development. As matters are at present, most concrete and truthful information about sex is given to girls pretty well along towards adolescence. It comes into their lives earlier than the awakening of womanhood or the first sex act, and yet their reactions to it show the same peculiarities as their reactions to those two other developments. Sixty-five per cent of the women who reported that they were shocked, revolted, incredulous, or surprised at hearing the truth about sex experience the climax. A little less than average results show for those who took it as a matter of fact. Those who felt a pleasurable sensation show only 45 per cent of climaxes. These last fit into a familiar pattern where an unnaturally sharp interest in sex and a craving for excitement run with a disability to live their sex lives to the full.

X

A factor that can play a very large and disastrous part in blocking a woman off from the cli-

max appears to be some sort of sex aggression in youth. Forty-six women reported incidents of the kind, and only 35 per cent of them realize the climax, against 70 per cent of those who escaped such experiences. Yet these aggressions are not irremediable calamities. If the victim has had the advantage of a decent education in the facts of sex, she can escape the consequences even of rape.

This appears clearly enough in the cases of the two women who were raped when little girls. One grew up a healthy woman for whom the sex act terminates normally. The other has been a bad hysteric ever since. Now the healthy woman was given full and realistic sex instruction early in childhood, well in advance of the terrifying experience. The rape hurt her physically and it made her very angry; but it brought her no permanent harm. The hysteric one was raised in the usual barbarous atmosphere which implies that sex is obscene, revolting, and wicked.

The moral is obvious enough. The hundred women came from the kind of families that exert a great deal of care to guard their little girls from the aggressions of children who are badly socialized, if they are socialized at all; yet for almost half of them the protection had not been successful. Safeguarding ought, of course, to be much more effective than that; but, as there is always a chance of the unpreventable happening, parents should see to it that their little girls are so unafraid and so unashamed of sex that an aggression will not wreck their lives.

The aggression may be nothing more than a solicitation, yet, in the case of children—and particularly of children conditioned against sex as

they are today—it can have a distinctly bad effect. Seventeen women had been solicited before puberty, and only 35 per cent of these women now reach the climax.

The effect of sex taboos in childhood appears again in the cases of women who said that they had felt "queer, guilty, or ashamed" because their first adolescent love affairs were tinged with a conscious feeling of sexual desire. There were fifteen of these women in a group of forty-six who recognized this sexual desire, and only 47 per cent of these fifteen now reach the climax. Thirteen women who could not remember clearly—could not because taboos would not let them—showed only 38 per cent of normality.

XI

Science has observed that during four to six years preceding puberty children lose their interest in sex and enter a state called "latency." Science is unsure whether this is a natural and an instinctive development or whether it is a result of the persistent taboos and repressions to which parents ordinarily subject them in early childhood. The fact that the women who had this latency period show a high percentage of climaxes, while the women who were most subjected to taboo and repression show a low percentage, rather argues that latency is a natural and instinctive development. But, however that may be, it is certainly a very good thing for little girls to lose their interest in sex during these years before puberty. Here is a very suggestive table:

60 showed lapse of interest in sex for several years preceding puberty .	38 or 63% now have the climax
5 showed a lapse at or just before puberty	5 or 60% now have the climax
23 were interested in sex all through childhood	7 or 30% now have the climax

The high average of the women who were uninterested in sex from 6 to 12 is highly significant in the light of the attempts of the ordinary parent to make sex frightening, horrid, and taboo. These are the years when the awakening intelligence of the child increases its sensitiveness to such influences. If she is vividly awake to sex at this time, her unconscious mind will be all the more badly warped by the attitude of her parents. It is far better for her to pass into a kind of sexual coma safe from almost all influence. She has time then to outgrow the taboos of childhood, instead of having them increased, and she comes out of this coma freer to make wholesome adaptations to the inevitable awakening of sex desire in adolescence.

This is probably what accounts for the greater normality of girls who reach puberty late rather than early. Consider the following table:

	Had Climax First Year of Marriage	*Now Have Climax*
12 reached puberty before 12	25%	33%
70 reached puberty at 12, 13, or 14	33%	56%
18 reached puberty after 14	56%	61%

Obviously the later sex is brought to an issue by puberty, the more likely a girl is to have outgrown the taboos of childhood.

Is it possible that the physical signs of the arrival of puberty could prove so disturbing as to block the ability to react normally to sexual intercourse? Apparently not:

15 felt marked shame or disgust at puberty	10 or 67% now have the climax
24 felt gratification . . .	15 or 63% now have the climax
40 felt some mental or physical distress .	21 or 53% now have the climax
15 felt perplexity	6 or 40% now have the climax
5 cannot remember reaction	1 or 20% now have the climax

Here we have the same kind of results as in the case of the first physical encounter. If the girl is alive enough to have vivid reactions, good or bad, she is comparatively safe. It is the inert who suffer. They have been so conditioned against sex that they can only remember the arrival of puberty, if they remember it at all, with feelings of perplexity. At the time they could not take in the significance of the event, or they couldn't face such unladylike evidence of shameful elements in their constitutions with enough clarity to remember afterwards.

XII

So much for early negative conditioning—the most likely of the nine possible causes of feminine disability. Let us now consider matters related to the lack of climax but not necessarily causes of it. The meaning of some of them is far from clear—for example the frequency and duration of the monthly period, and the cycle of monthly de-

pression and of sex desire—yet the recurrence of a distinct pattern cannot be ignored. There was a lower than average percentage of climaxes among women whose periods came more frequently than twenty-eight days and lasted for less than five days, among women who felt a marked depression at that time, and among women who departed from the general habit of the primates and did not feel the greatest sex desire after the period was over. The lack of climax may produce all these effects, or else the lack of the climax and these irregularities may all be the product of some primary cause, perhaps a disturbance in the endocrine system, perhaps an early conditioning against sex.

Lack of the climax certainly promotes extravagance. Fifteen women said their husbands considered them extravagant and ten of these never know full satisfaction. The other five have unhappy marriages or are living with seriously or partially impotent husbands. Money-spending is for them a relief—though a spurious relief—from bafflement and dissatisfaction.

One result of the lack of climax, which is just as clear as ill-health, weariness, and irritability, is infidelity and sexual restlessness and unhappiness. Sexual disability does not make a happy marriage impossible, but it does work against a comfortable monogamy. The happily married women were only 7 per cent more climactic than the unhappy; yet it was predominantly from the sexually unsatisfied that the adulteresses and the divorced women sprang. Only 27 per cent of the fifteen women who were separated or divorced experienced the climax during the first year of their

marriage, and less than the average percentage have ever experienced it. The record of love affairs—spiritual but not necessarily physical attachments—during marriage and of adultery is even more striking.

56 never had extra-marital love affairs . .	34 or 61% now have the climax
41 have had extra-marital love affairs . . .	30 or 49% now have the climax
3 have never loved any man	0 or 0% now has the climax
24 *now* have extra-marital love affairs or cannot deny they have	10 or 42% now have the climax
76 never committed adultery	45 or 59% now have the climax
24 have committed adultery	9 or 38% now have the climax

XIII

Some physicians believe that masturbation is a cause of sexual disability. So far as women are concerned, it seems to be associated with this lack of climax; but it is much easier to believe that masturbation, like adultery, is more apt to be a result than a cause. Here is the record of the hundred women:

26 never masturbated .	16 or 62% now have the climax
74 masturbated at some time	38 or 51% now have the climax
11 masturbated frequently *after marriage* .	3 or 27% now have the climax

Early sex experience does not seem to have a bad effect on a woman's capacity for the climax. Quite the opposite, once puberty has arrived:

16 had first sex experience between 16 and 20	10 or 63% now have the climax
52 had first sex experience between 21 and 25	27 or 52% now have the climax
25 had first sex experience between 26 and 30	14 or 56% now have the climax
7 had first sex experience after 30	3 or 43% now have the climax

Careless or uninformed physicians and grossly prejudiced Puritans often state that frequent indulgence in intercourse, especially during the first year of marriage, is deleterious to health, cruel to the wife, and liable to cause a revulsion in her which will hinder her from reaching the climax. So far as the question of health goes, if the couple are physically sound and quite unafraid of their bodies and their desires, they may safely have intercourse as often as they care for it; fatigue will automatically control them. As to the effect of indulgence on a woman's ability to have the climax, the following table speaks for itself:

29 had intercourse more than 4 times a week the first year	21 or 72% now have the climax
48 had intercourse 1 to 4 times a week . .	25 or 52% now have the climax
12 had intercourse less than once a week .	4 or 33% now have the climax
11 cannot remember . .	4 or 36% now have the climax

But do not take this for an argument that frequent intercourse the first year will aid materially in establishing the climax. It may or it may not. One thing is certain: Women who can have the climax will unquestionably indulge most frequently and most harmlessly. They have the nearest thing to an insurance policy for healthy nerves and a reasonably happy marriage.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAY OF VENUS

The sex-lives of these two hundred men and women before and after marriage. Conservative, liberal, and radical attitudes toward adultery and variety in love, and their outcome in terms of happiness. Decrease in illicit intercourse among men; increase among women.

This side of fifty, nothing fascinates us quite so much as the spectacle of man and "that reproductive old maniac, Nature," clinched in collaboration and battle, battle and collaboration. Humor—and a cosmic humor—is bound to result from a physical craving out of all proportion to the physical pleasure that comes from its satisfaction. Tragedies must follow in the train of a passion imperious enough to insure the perpetuation of the race. Among the tragedies, one of the most familiar is the conflict between man's natural desire for monogamy and his equally natural desire for experience, for a delectable variety of experience. Whatever turn the drama takes, there is one of our reactions that never changes: to the great majority, the most interesting single fact about any human being is his fidelity or lack of it—whether it is fidelity to social convention before marriage or fidelity to wife or husband afterwards. And so—whatever portion of this research in marriage is likely to prove the most significant in scientific fact—the record of the sexual peccadilloes and infidelities of these two hundred men and women is bound to excite the greatest interest.

Whether you recognize its importance is another matter. The record is liable to be judged by careless readers wholly on the basis of their own prejudices. If they feel, for instance, that most men are libertines and most women nuns before marriage, they will throw out the facts and conclusions of this chapter because the subjects of the research were neither one nor the other. To satisfy such readers the two hundred men and women must seem typical of society as they think they know it, and the test will be whether these love-lives appear to be just the sort that they believe—on the scantiest of evidence—most of their neighbors are leading.

Frankly, the men and women of this research are not necessarily typical even of the classes from which they came. Certainly they are above the average in intellectual capacity, courage, honesty, and general enlightenment—a particularly fortunate fact in a research aimed at learning something about the causes of certain phenomena rather than their distribution over classes, ages, or races of human beings. The statistics that they furnish on continence or infidelity need be no test of anything on earth—though we are inclined to think they are. All the men and all the women could have been virgins at marriage and adulterous from the last day of the honeymoon, and still their record would be significant. It would show what other facts and conditions accompany such behavior. Though one fact—such as the sex habits of a human being—may mean very little to the rest of us, two or three facts concerning a number of men and women open up the causes and relationships of human behavior.

II

When we come to the one fact—the "morals" of these two hundred human beings—we come to a difficulty of language. It is implied in the quotation marks around "morals." Almost the only words we have for sex behavior which a layman can handle comfortably are words like "morals" and "sin," "chaste" and "adulterous," "virtuous" and "unfaithful," "virginity" and "infidelity," "enjoyed" and "violated." They all imply an ethical judgment, and ethical judgment is not the business of scientific research.

So let us try to forget, if we can, all moral implications when we say that it looked on the surface as if the hundred men had been rather more chaste than the masculine tradition demands, and the hundred women a good deal less virtuous than women are commonly supposed to be. Forty-six of the men were virgins at marriage; thirty-five of the women were not. Both before marriage and afterwards only fifty-nine of the hundred men had been guilty of illicit intercourse, while forty-seven of the women had committed what are called sins of the flesh. A rather surprising fact is that almost a third of the men and women had enjoyed sexual relations with their mates before marriage.

This last fact is worth pausing over. Couple it with the women's scanty record of promiscuity with others than their spouses and we grow less sure about the free-ranging sex life of the feminine subjects of the research. There were only fourteen women who had had physical relations with other men as well as with those they were to marry—against twenty-four men. There were

only six women who had had intercourse with other men and *not with their husbands* before marriage—against twenty-one men. In the case of the husbands and wives who were physically intimate before marriage, we don't know, of course, whether the impending marriage provoked the premature relations, or the premature relations induced marriage. But obviously, the promiscuity of the women had largely to do with the men they afterwards wedded, while the men of this research had been disproportionately intimate with women they did not or could not marry. Put down the figures and work out the ratio that the women's lack of chastity bears to the men's, and we find the women approaching and exceeding masculine immorality only as the relationship approaches closer and closer to the legality of marriage:

Illicit Relationship	*Men*	*Women*	*Ratio of Women's Unchastity to Men's*
With other persons but not with spouse	21	6	29%
With either spouse or other persons	54	35	65%
With spouse only	9	15	167%

In human terms, this means that the women had acquired sufficient sexual freedom and sufficient knowledge of contraceptives to break down the bars to a certain extent. Some twenty-nine of them could have relations with men whom they were engaged to marry or whom they would desire to marry after such experience. But some scruple held back half of these from granting such physical intimacy to other men. Naturally enough there were very few indeed—only six

women, against twenty-one men—who had intercourse with others than their spouses and who were held back by some consideration—surely not the "reverence" that controlled so many men—from relations with the men they came to love ardently. This small number seems to be due far more to the strength of taboo than to the fact that for women there is no army of convenient prostitutes.

For most women the dual moral code—or the remnants still left of it—does not run past marriage. With the wedding day much of the taboo disappears. The mysteries and dangers of sex become commonplaces. Women enter upon a sexual equality with men. Something of the sort certainly happened with our hundred women, according to the record of their adulteries and love affairs. Twenty-eight men and twenty-four women admitted infidelities after marriage. Sixteen men and sixteen women asserted that at the time of the research they were in love with other people than those they were married to. The virgin women provided a much larger proportion of the adulteries than did the virgin men, and at the same time a greater proportion of the women who had cast their caps over the windmill settled down to faithful married lives. No less than half the adulteresses were women who had been virgins at marriage; while only five of the twenty-eight unfaithful men came from this same class.

III

Passing from single facts like these—which may or may not apply to larger groups of human

beings—we come to certain aspects of this research which bring into focus much related and significant material that often suggests wider applications. A considerable mass of it relates to virginity at marriage. Rightly or wrongly, the older generation is apt to believe that the younger generation—at any rate on the feminine side—is not approaching marriage in quite so virginal a state of mind or body as of yore, and the older generation is naturally upset. Thanks to birth control the problem is spiritual, rather than physiological, and on this aspect of the relations of men and women the research has some material findings to offer. They have to do with the relation of virginity at marriage to the married happiness of husbands and wives and to the record of their fidelity. Other facts show the relation between a tendency towards adultery and an incapacity on the part of the women to experience the complete, releasing satisfaction in marital intercourse which occurs with the normal climax.

The hundred and forty-one virgins showed a higher degree of married happiness than the average of the two hundred men and women. The virgins were almost 6 per cent above the average in the case of the men and 4 per cent above in the case of the women. The following table summarizes the findings:

No. of Men or Women	*State at Marriage*	*Degree of Married Happiness*
100	Men—virgin and non-virgin .	51%
46	Virgin men	57%
54	Non-virgin men	46%
100	Women—virgin and non-virgin	45%
65	Virgin women	49%
35	Non-virgin women	37%

These figures do not argue that virginity at marriage is any more important to the happiness of women than of men. But other figures might suggest that there is some special importance to the non-virgin woman in first giving herself to someone other than her husband. The women who had followed this path were somewhat happier than the rest of the non-virgins. The women who had lost their virginity to their husbands before marriage were not so happy: they showed only 31 per cent of happy marriages.

Finally, what relationship can be traced between virginity and adultery—for men and for women? Certainly the non-virgins were more adulterous than the virgins. But sexual experience before their wedding night did not drive the women on to any unusual restlessness in marriage compared with the men. The experienced men continued to be more adulterous, and their unfaithfulness increased more than the women's. Which is pretty much the general picture you might have expected.

The surprise comes from the virgins. The virgin women proved nearly twice as adulterous as the virgin men. The explanation may be that they were following out a kind of theory of sexual freedom, or it may be that the women showed the time-honored percentage of adulteries, and the "modern" development was all on the men's side. Perhaps because the virgin men lacked the torturing and over-mastering virility to experiment with sex before marriage and follow the familiar masculine habit of promiscuity, they found it easy to remain comparatively "pure" after marriage also.

Another surprise is in store when we look into the adulteries of the men and women who were living happy married lives. The happy virgins among the women were more adulterous than the happy non-virgins. Again, experience seems to deter women from adultery rather than egg them on. Or at least under reasonably happy married conditions. For unhappiness—which made most of these groups of men and women two to three times as liable to adultery—drove the non-virgin women into infidelity with six-fold energy. Incidentally, the non-virgin men who were happy in their marriages showed almost as large a percentage of adulteries as the whole hundred men. Other deductions may be made—and more easily grasped—from the following table:

Percentages of Adulterous Men

Among all men 28%			
Virgins	11%	Happy virgins	8%
		Unhappy virgins . . .	15%
Non-virgins 43%		Happy non-virgins . .	24%
		Unhappy non-virgins .	59%

Percentages of Adulterous Women

Among all women 24%			
Virgins	18%	Happy virgins	10%
		Unhappy virgins . . .	27%
Non-virgins 34%		Happy non-virgins . .	8%
		Unhappy non-virgins .	50%

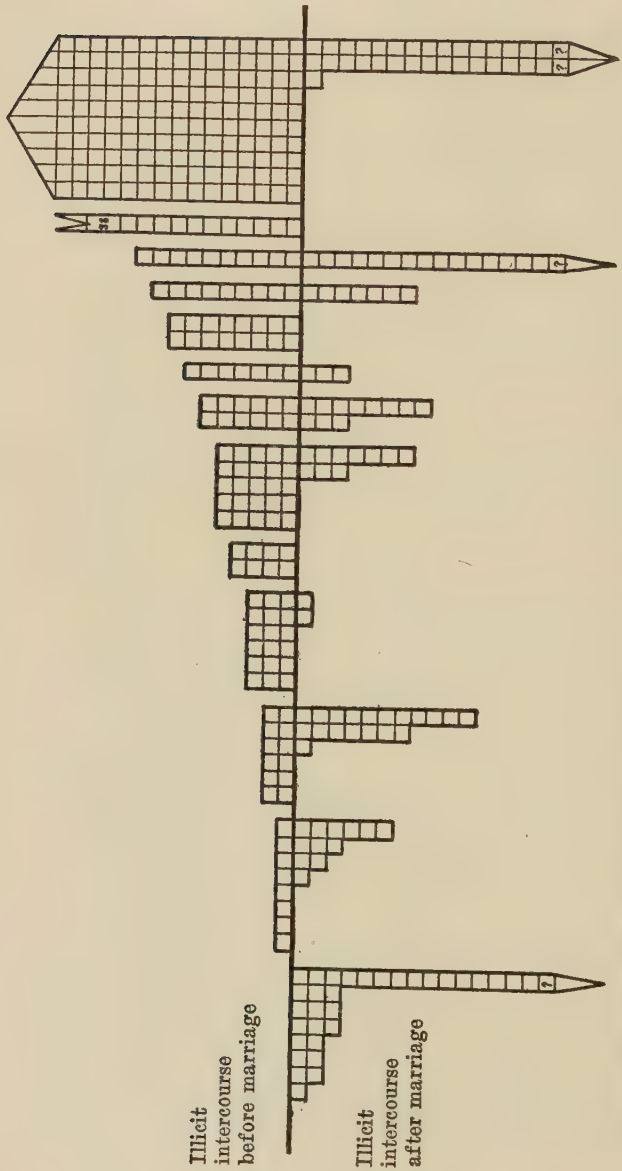
IV

Adultery and married unhappiness are definitely associated with one another in the records of the two hundred men and women. The men and women who remained faithful throughout marriage show 9 per cent more happy marriages

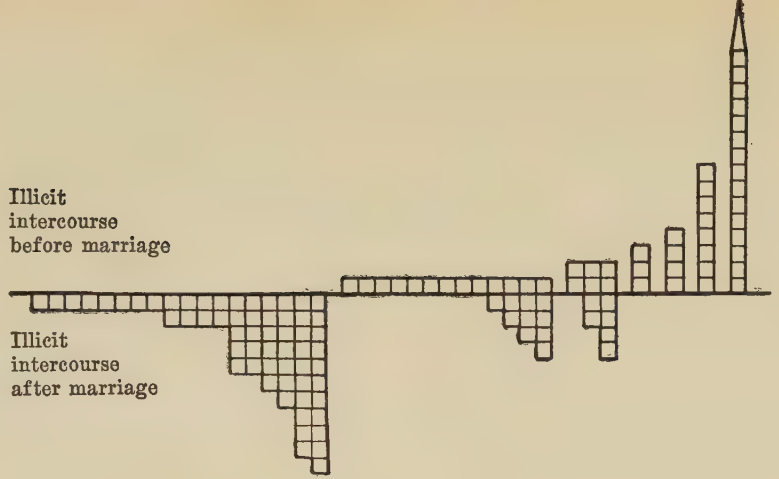
than the average. Those who committed adultery show little happiness at all—for the men 29 per cent, for the women 17 per cent. And we know that 15 per cent of the happy men and 9 per cent of the happy women have committed adultery, against 40 per cent of the unhappy men and 36 per cent of the unhappy women. But these figures can't tell us whether the act of adultery corrupts the happiness of a marriage, or the lack of happiness results in adultery, or both unhappiness and adultery are the products of some earlier fact.

The research provides one pretty definite conclusion about an important cause of adultery. This is lack of full sexual satisfaction on the woman's side. Failure to enjoy the climax is, of course, very often associated with happy marriages—it is present in 42 per cent of them. But it is far more often associated with adultery. Almost two-thirds of the adulterous women of this research had never experienced the climax. This void in their lives appeared to drive them to other men in search of fuller experience.

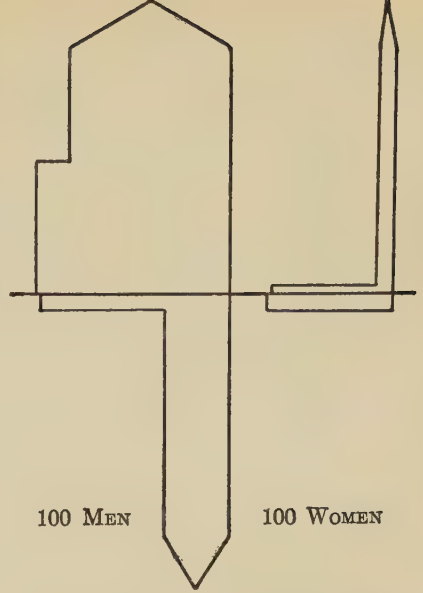
The old theory that a young man should sow his wild oats in order to marry successfully and remain faithful in marriage is about as common as a newer theory that pre-marital experience is liable to set up a habit of promiscuity. The truth is probably a mixed and more temperate statement. So far as this research shows anything, it shows that the men who were either virgins at marriage or else had had a very great deal of sex experience showed the least leaning towards adultery. We have already quoted the statistics on the virgins. The following three graphs show clearly



A graph showing—above the heavy horizontal line—the sexual experiences of the men before marriage, and —below the line—their adulteries. Each vertical column of squares belongs to a particular man, and each square represents one sex affair. One column, representing thirty-eight affairs, is cut off short of its true height. Columns or blocks ending in protruding angles represent men who had so many experiences that they could not remember the number of them.



A graph showing for the women the same experiences shown in the previous graph for the men. For a key, see the letter-press on page opposite.



A graph summing up the sexual experiences of the men and the women before marriage and their adulteries. The units of measure are much reduced as compared with the more detailed graphs just preceding.

that the men and the women who had a great deal of experience before marriage were far more chaste after marriage. They had had their fill of promiscuity.

V

Three questions gave the men and women a chance to describe the physical and mental qualities that they found sexually attractive or repellent. From this material we gain an interesting insight into the differences between the masculine and the feminine viewpoint.

One question asked the subject to name "any mental or physical traits which render your spouse less attractive to you sexually than you would like." Sixty-six men and fifty-eight women saw flaws in their mates. More than half the complaints of the women related to disposition or mentality. The men put the same overemphasis on physical traits, and they were a little more critical than the women about the sexual capacity or technique of their mates. The criticisms ran:

	Men	*Women*
Traits relating to disposition or mentality	28	41
Sexual capacity or technique	19	16
Other physical traits	42	19
Uncertain	1	
No complaints	34	42

The two other questions asked what types would appeal to the subject in a sexual way and what types would make him or her shrink from physical intimacy. The only outstanding type the men preferred was the dark—perhaps the "vamp"?—type; twenty-three voted for this. The women, however, showed marked interest in three types that spell protection or prosperity.

Twenty-one found tall men sexually exciting, twenty-one preferred lovers who were strong or athletic, and eighteen wanted them very intelligent. As to sexual antipathies, the men and the women agreed on placing fat people at the top of the list—by thirty-six masculine votes to twenty-two feminine. Eighteen men didn't like them thin. Coarse, gross or unrefined men won the aversion of twenty women, and the sensual revolted eighteen more. Almost as many women disliked short men and effeminate men. Ten women had a sexual aversion for "most men," and nine for any man but the husband. In these preferences and aversions must lie some explanation of the adulteries.

The men and women's own explanations are interesting but rather too personal for reproduction. Their reasons for justifying adultery—brought out in answer to the question: "What, if any, circumstances, in your opinion, justify a married man [for the women, "a married woman"] in having sex intercourse with a person other than his spouse?"—may be codified as follows:

	Men	*Women*
Nothing	10	16
Nothing, with qualification		7
Nothing, so far as herself is concerned		7
Sexual difficulties	39	13
Circumstances preventing intercourse	8	5
Lack of love	17	14
Love for someone else	9	15
Mate's infidelity	1	5
If he or she tells mate	7	2
If he can keep his wife from knowing	1	
Mutual agreement	3	10
Needs no justification	5	12
It is an individual problem to be decided on its merits		12

These various points of view suggest parallels in the theories on adultery common today. Among the hundred there were obviously many men and women who held to what might be called the conservative viewpoint on the monogamy of marriage. They found adultery impossible to justify or at any rate very difficult. Then there were the liberals who saw justification under certain circumstances, and the radicals who believed adultery needed little or no justification. The following table gives the number of men and women who could be fairly grouped in each division and the percentage of happy marriages in each group.

	No. of Men	*Percentage of Happy Marriages*	*No. of Women*	*Percentage of Happy Marriages*
Conservative view . .	15	40%	32	47%
Liberal view	69	55%	55	46%
Radical view	16	44%	13	39%

For the men, liberalism tops the poll, conservatism is at the bottom, and only the liberals are above the average of married happiness for men—51 per cent. In the case of the women, conservatism not only wins more adherents than with the men, but it shows the largest percentage of happy marriages; both the liberals and the conservatives are above the average of feminine married happiness—45 per cent. The radical women form the smallest body and the unhappiest, the conservative men the next smallest and the next unhappiest. Radical theory may be a product—like adultery—of unhappy married life.

VI

The picture of promiscuity which the facts and figures of this chapter present naturally brings up the old question of whether happily married men and women have a natural leaning toward variety in sexual experience. The subjects of the research gave their opinions on this as a general fact, and also on whether they themselves felt a desire for variety. Two-thirds of the men and a third of the women said that they were uncertain as to the general craving for variety. Seven men and twenty-four women said that happily married people were not naturally polygamous. Twenty-five men said they were. Twenty-six women agreed categorically and about a dozen thought that most women would find variety exciting, attractive or "fun."

Putting the question of variety up to each man or woman personally brought some different results. More of them voted No and more of them voted Yes and fewer were uncertain. In general the men were more polygamously-minded. Here are the results:

	Men	*Women*
Craves variety	41	29
Is somewhat polygamous	3	
Variety might be thrilling		1
Dallies with the idea	6	2
Has craved variety due to spouse's inadequacy		2
Has curiosity but not craving		1
Does not crave variety	26	34
Would not crave variety if spouse were adequate	3	3
Monogamy is the ideal	1	
Uncertain	20	28

The somewhat popular superstition that the inexperienced crave variety, as well as fall more easily into adultery, is not upheld by the research. We have seen that the adulterous came more from the slightly experienced than from the virgins or from the men and women who had enjoyed a great deal of sexual adventuring before marriage. Only 32 per cent of the virgin wives admitted they craved variety, against 43 per cent of the non-virgins. On the general question, 34 per cent of the virgins voted yes, and 60 per cent of the non-virgins.

VII

Late marriage is such a commonplace of modern life that it will surprise no one to hear that half of the men in the research remained unmarried till their twenty-seventh year, and half of the women till their twenty-fourth. On the other hand, the large number of men who were virgins at marriage—no less than forty-six—suggests that the popular conception of a looser moral code developing side by side with later marriages needs some revision. It does, but the revision must be largely on the masculine side. If the research is any index, the men of the better-educated class in America have been growing steadily less promiscuous and more continent. It shows, too, that the women have marched alongside the men up to the younger generation. But the figures for the women who came to maturity from 1910 onwards show an extraordinary relapse into promiscuity. Today the two sexes may safely be said to stand on something like a parity.

The following table summarizes the manner in

which these men and women got their first sex experience. The people are divided into four groups ranging from those who were forty-five years or older at the time of the research to those who were under thirty-five. The first column of percentages deals with those who were virgins at marriage; the second with those who had their first sex experience with their wives, but before marriage, and the third with those who were introduced to sex by some woman whom they did not marry.

	First Sex Experience		
Date of Birth	*None Before Marriage*	*With Spouse, Before Marriage*	*With Person Other than Spouse, Before Marriage*
MEN			
1880 or earlier (10 cases)	2 (20.00%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (80.00%)
1881 to 1885 (13 cases)	5 (38.46%)	1 (7.69%)	7 (53.85%)
1886 to 1890 (36 cases)	18 (50.00%)	4 (11.11%)	14 (38.89%)
1891 or later (41 cases)	21 (51.22%)	5 (12.20%)	15 (36.59%)
Total (100 men)	46	10	44
WOMEN			
1880 or earlier (11 cases)	7 (63.64%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (36.36%)
1881 to 1885 (14 cases)	11 (78.57%)	2 (14.29%)	1 (7.14%)
1886 to 1890 (25 cases)	20 (80.00%)	2 (8.00%)	3 (12.00%)
1891 or later (50 cases)	27 (54.00%)	12 (24.00%)	11 (22.00%)
Total (100 women)	65	16	19

The significant points are:

The proportion of virgins among the men increases steadily through the first three periods and even increases a little in the fourth. The percentage of men indulging in casual sex relations before marriage falls steadily away. The increase in the number of men having their first experience with their wives before marriage is doubtless due to the decrease in general promis-

cuity; intercourse with the fiancée is the next thing to maintaining virginity.

The percentage of virgin women increases steadily until the younger generation appears. Then it falls off with amazing sharpness, and is almost as low as the men's. Hardly more than half of the women of this last period come to their marriages as virgins. Almost a quarter have already had experience with their husbands and more than a fifth have had their first experience with other men.

Passing from the *first* sex experience, we find in the following figures an index of how far the habit of illicit intercourse between engaged men and women has decreased. These come from the men, but those for the women would naturally duplicate the results.

Date of Birth		*Had No Sex Experience with Wife Before Marriage*
1880 or earlier	(10 cases)	5 (50.00%)
1881 to 1885	(13 cases)	8 (62.00%)
1886 to 1890	(36 cases)	24 (67.00%)
1891 or later	(41 cases)	30 (73.00%)
Total		67

Finally here is a table on the relation between the date of birth of the men and women and their record of illicit intercourse before marriage and after:

Date of Birth	MEN	*Never Had Illicit Sex Intercourse*	WOMEN	*Never Had Illicit Sex Intercourse*
1880 or earlier	(10 cases)	2 (20.00%)	(11 cases)	6 (55.00%)
1881 to 1885	(13 cases)	4 (31.00%)	(14 cases)	8 (57.00%)
1886 to 1890	(36 cases)	15 (42.00%)	(25 cases)	19 (76.00%)
1891 or later	(41 cases)	20 (49.00%)	(50 cases)	20 (40.00%)
Total		41	Total	53

Here in the last years of this record we have 60 per cent of the women admitting illicit sex intercourse at some time in their lives, outdistancing the men by almost 10 per cent. What danger this holds for the future of the race may be left to the professional moralists of pulpit and lecture platform. One thing is certain, however: Such fearlessness, openness, and frankness regarding sex opens up possibilities for science which it has never before enjoyed. In the four years since the research began the office of the examiner has been a kind of clearing house, not only for the two hundred men and women, but for many other persons who have enough courage and a sufficiently personal interest in human sex problems to be frank about themselves to a physician and psychiatrist. Out of this experience has come an inescapable conviction that the educated young men and women of today, with their serious-minded but frankly experimental attitude toward sex, offer the scientific investigator an opportunity which has never been open to him. They refuse to be superstitiously moralistic about sex; but they also refuse to be obscenely furtive or inexpediently defiant and disorderly. Their attitude is essentially realistic. They are trying to be sane and broad-minded. They may suffer much in the process of re-adaptation. But they are learning—and teaching.

CHAPTER XIV

1358 EXPERIMENTS IN LOVE

The love-lives of these two hundred people from five to fifty. The relation of various erotic phenomena to happy marriages. An analysis of "petting." Why the 1358 experiments produced only 96 happy marriages.

Our common conception of marriage was begotten in a union of social necessity and herd superstition. The finality of marriage, mitigated by divorce, the monogamy of marriage, mitigated by romance, almost all the outstanding features of this institution are founded in greater part on a quite sane recognition that all human cravings, including the sexual-romantic, have got to be socialized to fit in with various sociological and biological necessities. But they are also founded on harmful superstitions that probably go as far back as the days when our ancestors sacrificed young virgins to those gods who made human beings and who provided drought, famine, flood, earthquake, and sabre-toothed tiger for their destruction.

Such hybrid products of reason and superstition obviously stand in need of revision. But it is the contention of some of us who are students of psychobiological research that this is no guessing job. For what is even the crudest superstition but a generation's best guess about things? And what are our best guesses but a new crop of superstitions? If we are far enough advanced on the road to civilization to abandon the medicine man's powwow in favor of a realistic ap-

proach to the problem of physical disease, then we have reached the stage at which guess-work, speculation, and opinion grounded in emotion can give way—and must give way—to factual diagnosis of our spiritual ailments. This should mean a factual estimate not only of the good and the bad features of marriage as most of us live it, but also of the many factors that enter into the emotion of true personal love.

The 1,358 love affairs of our two hundred men and women form the basis of the present chapter. They are a widow's mite of facts got under carefully arranged scientific conditions. They would have to be multiplied a hundred-fold to justify any hard and fast conclusions, but a mite is worth dropping into the box—especially an empty box.

During the research the cards on which the questions were typewritten had to be renewed from time to time. They were likely to get smudged and crumpled after a score or more of eagerly-talking spouses had sat—one at a time—in the examining chair, and handled them. There was one of these cards that invariably wore out sooner than all its fellows. It was known to the secretary, who had to copy it over so often she could do the chore by memory, as the "love affairs card," and the one used by the women read as follows:

Give a list of all of the boys with whom you have been in love, either before or after your marriage, and give the following information about each of them:

1. How old were you at the beginning of your love affair with the boy or man?
2. Was he older or younger than you?
3. What was the color of his eyes and hair? Dark or fair skin?

4. Was he short, tall, or medium in height?
5. Was he thin, plump, fat or of average build?
6. Did he resemble your father or any of your brothers in disposition?
7. Did he resemble your father or any of your brothers in physical appearance?
8. To what extent were there demonstrations of affection between you?
9. Was your affection for him of a kind to make it uncomfortable for you to permit him to make demonstrations of affection between you?
10. Did any other feelings interfere with your ability to let him kiss you or to do other kinds of "spooning" with you freely or easily?
11. What terminated your affair with him?

The questions for the men were an exact paraphrase.

The word "spooning" in the tenth question might have been fatal to the examiner's desire to be regarded by these men and women as a safely tolerant person, if the earlier sessions had not already established his status in their minds. As it was, this obsolete word brought out many comments that gave him a sense of having betrayed a middle-aged Victorian outlook on matters of love and sex.

The women provided another difficulty. They developed a tendency to list as love affairs episodes in which they achieved conquests of male affections, and yet were not themselves emotionally moved. It became a stereotyped procedure to exhort each woman as the love affairs card was handed to her: "Now please don't include boys or men who may have been in love with you, but to whom you were indifferent." This plea was not very effective—especially with women born south of the Mason and Dixon line.

Three of the hundred women had never loved a man, and were physically incapable of such a love, but the other ninety-seven had been in love with 677 different men—almost seven love affairs apiece. The hundred men accounted for 681 love affairs—just a little less per man. The figures include only relations in which there was an emotional attachment for the other person. Purely physical encounters, with no element of "being in love," are ruled out. But as there were eleven questions about each of these 1,358 love affairs the amount of information obtained by this card alone out of the forty was Gargantuan—no less than 14,938 answers. Naturally, a brief digest of this material can touch only the high spots.

II

The love relation of these men and women with their own mates provides what is perhaps the most interesting point of departure. In most cases it is a fair assumption that a woman's marriage is preceded by a love affair with her spouse, and that this is true of most men. As a matter of fact, only one man and five women—including the three women frigid to men—said they had never been in love with the person they married. And yet a surprisingly large number of the two hundred men and women left their mates out of their answers until they had told about all their other loves and laid the card aside. Then would come an apologetic: "Oh, yes, I forgot to include my husband!" This interesting mental kink was not confined, of course, to the women.

The fifty-five couples who entered the research together were particularly interesting because with them the examiner was able to compare the accounts of husbands and wives, and their separate versions of their common love; fewer discrepancies appeared than might have been expected. Still more interesting were the cases of men and women who were not married to one another but who had had mutual love affairs. Their separate explanations of how these adventures had ended threw a good deal of light on the psychology of human "alibis." In no case did the jilted one seem to be lying, but there was always some eager assurance of the forsaken one's gratitude to the jilter for having withdrawn.

Much the most interesting "human documents" in the research came from men and women who had met and fallen in love with other persons after marriage. Here were tales of a very tragic kind. John, having a wife, meets Jane, who has a husband. Each finds in the other a sympathy and an appreciation which they had once had from the parent of the other sex, but which their spouses have failed to give them. Marriage has meant loneliness for them, somewhat relieved by the advent of children yet still full of a longing for what the mate couldn't or wouldn't give. Finally, the rise of a valid and satisfying love that had to be renounced. Behind such renunciations one usually finds, in the woman's case, a sense of obligation to her children. For the man there is this, too, with the added factor of pity for the woman who, in tying herself to him and bearing him children, has placed all her eggs in one basket; he sees how small her chances are for any

kind of new matrimonial deal, let alone a satisfying one. So he sticks to his bargain, and, if he isn't too busy pitying himself, then his pity for her may become in time a fair substitute, so far as his wife is concerned, for the love that he has come to feel for another woman.

On the surface, tragedy of this sort seemed to have happened to almost half of the women and a third of the men in this research. The figures in the tabulated material look depressing enough —forty-one women and twenty-nine men who had thought themselves more or less in love with people they were not married to. And yet these figures are a little deceptive. Not all these men and women had felt really serious longings to swap partners. Some of them were really quite well pleased with their matrimonial bargains, and had developed a romantic outside interest more out of loyalty to a creed than from personal inclination. This statement may puzzle readers who belong to a generation or a community in which the lay psychoanalyst has thus far labored in vain. The point is this: If you have been married as long as five years, and haven't fallen in love with some other person, you are automatically classifiable as pitifully repressed and reactionary. This is even truer of you if you are a woman than if you are a man. An extra-marital love affair is a gesture of freedom—not necessarily from the exactions of a too possessive spouse, but from the stupid and restrictive marriage code that went out of fashion with ground-sweeping skirts and the corsets that made the patent medicine business a major industry.

All this may have a rather unsympathetic and

reactionary sound, but it really springs from a belief that the younger generation of married people in New York—and doubtless many other cities—is being just as badly fooled by fashions in ideas as their parents were fooled by fashions in skirts and corsets. Old ideas may be stupid and hurtful, yet new ones stand little chance of being any better when they are based on the childish fallacy that you only need to reverse the bad in order to get the good. But they are very sure to be fashionable.

The test of any action, of course, is not whether it is conventional or radical, but how it works. And here the research supplies some significant data.

The contention of the liberal-to-radical and definitely radical groups is to the general effect that it is a good thing for husbands and wives to have outside love affairs. They believe that such affairs need not imply dissatisfaction with the mate, and that they are likely to enrich the common lives of the couple—provided, of course, that there shall be neither cheating nor secrecy in the matter. It is suggestive that the women of these groups in the research were considerably more given to making actual tests of this theory than the men, and less able to tolerate comfortably the experiments of the other spouse.

Now the research provided a means of testing theories like these by the happiness grades of the people—with following results:

29 husbands had outside love affairs . . .	9 or 31% are happily married
71 husbands had no outside love affairs . .	42 or 59% are happily married

41 wives had outside love affairs . . . . . 11 or 27% are happily married
56 wives had no outside love affairs . . . . 34 or 61% are happily married

The results are suggestive, yet not, of course, conclusive. It is impossible to say how many of these love affairs were dictated by theory, and it is just as impossible to say how far these marriages were happy *before* the love affairs occurred. What we do know is that love affairs and unhappy marriages were very closely associated in this research, and we can argue that this will hold true of large groups of better-educated Americans.

It is interesting to learn how far these love affairs outside marriage remained platonic, and how far they became physically adulterous. And it is also interesting to note the relation of adulterous intercourse to happy married life. Here we have to throw out the test of whether there was a genuine emotional fondness and bring in the test of legal infidelity. In the first place, while far more women than men claimed emotional attachments to others than their mates, hardly half these women allowed their emotions to lead them into adultery, and almost all of the men succumbed. Twenty-nine husbands told of extra-marital love affairs and twenty-eight men admitted adultery. Forty-one women recounted emotional attachments for other men, and only twenty-four admitted adultery. Here, too, there were radical theorists. Many of the two hundred brought up and discussed the possibility of having complete physical intimacy with persons other than their mates without disaster to their do-

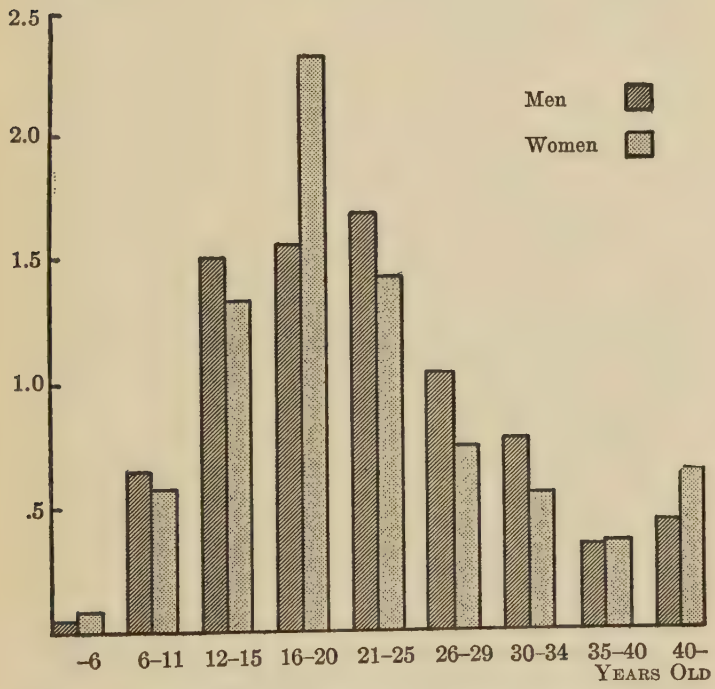
mestic happiness. The next table, which merely supplies some facts and is not meant to imply a judgment either way, is based upon the record of sex affairs regardless of whether romantic affection were involved or not:

28 husbands admitted adultery	8 or 29% are happily married
72 husbands denied adultery	43 or 60% are happily married
24 wives admitted adultery	4 or 17% are happily married
76 wives denied adultery .	41 or 54% are happily married

III

The two hundred men and women provide us with a pretty good index of the ages at which human beings are most likely to fall in love. Or rather—since man is pretty actively falling in and out of love for a generation—those years when he is most actively engaged in the principal business of life—trying to find a mate. Let us first divide the love-life into four genetic or natural periods—babyhood to five years of age, six to eleven, twelve to fifteen and fifteen to twenty, and then carry the record on in jumps of five years each. Let us then find how many love affairs occur in each year and divide this by the number of people living through that age—for, though all the men and women had reached twenty-one, some had not passed twenty-five, and many had not reached forty. This gives us the average number of love affairs per person in each year of life. Adding up the averages of the years in each period, with corrections for periods of unequal length, we have the following table:

Age Period	*No. of Love Affairs per Man*	*No. of Love Affairs per Woman*
Before 6	.04	.08
6–11	.63	.57
12–15	1.50	1.44
16–20	1.56	2.32
21–25	1.68	1.33
26–29	1.03	.76
30–34	.79	.56
35–39	.34	.35
40 and over	.43	.64

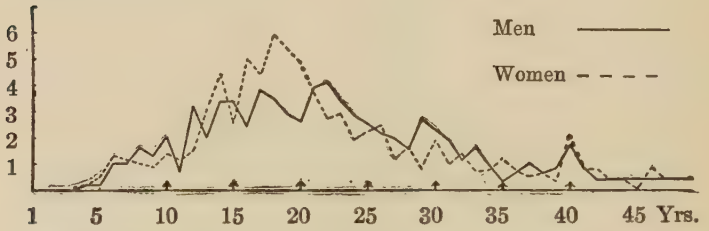


Average number of love affairs per person distributed in approximately five-year periods.

So few men and women were able to remember much of their love-life before the age of six that

we must rule out the record of this period. The rest of the chart brings out four significant things:

The men began to show an amatory enthusiasm sooner than the women. Up to fifteen their average was somewhat ahead. Perhaps it is truer, however, to say that the women lagged behind. For in a graph of the average number of love affairs per person in each year, the men's curve is smooth and easy, while the women's rushes up and down in spurts.



This graph represents the 1,358 love affairs of the two hundred men and women distributed through almost fifty years of life on the basis of the average number of attachments that each man and each woman felt each year. Figures in the vertical line represent the average number of affairs.

The women reach the peak of their love affairs earlier than the men. With fourteen the curve begins bounding up. It reaches its greatest height at eighteen, and the field of greatest activity runs from sixteen to twenty. The men reach the peak between twenty-one and twenty-two. Thus the periods of the greatest susceptibility for the women and the men in this research are separated by a gap of about three years. The women come to the height of their love-period three years before the men. This is exactly the gap in time that we commonly observe between

the physical maturity of women and of men. The girl comes of age at eighteen; the man, at twenty-one.

After the peak, the men go down more slowly than the women—just as they have risen more slowly. On the chart of yearly love affairs there is a slight re-birth of love-making at about thirty, then another sag.

Suddenly with the forties comes another peak in the love-affairs of the women. The men, too, react to this numerical signal that youth has passed and middle-age is upon them; but the women react more sharply. Through the thirties the women show a little more activity than the men, and in the next decade they definitely outdistance them. Perhaps this is due to nature crowding into this period a stronger sex urge for the woman than for the man. Perhaps it is due to the fact that after forty a woman's children are out from under her feet enough to give her a new lease on the kind of life that spells love and romance. But the most curious fact presented by this chart is that the number "40" has a special power over both sexes, and more over the women. The fortieth birthday of a woman gives her even a more frantic sense than it gives the man that romance is passing with her youth.

IV

"Was the beloved person older or younger than you?" Here is the factor of age injected into relationships that are already infinitely complex. Mathematically considered, the complications ought to leap up in number and variety. Reason

ought to be staggered by the results. As a matter of fact, age seems to be the one factor that produces clear, simple, and thoroughly logical patterns through all this business of love.

This is probably because we look at differences in age simply and realistically. This man *is* definitely older than this woman, or younger, or of the same age. Difference in age is no mysterious and hazy thing, like "inferiority complexes" or emotional capacities. For centuries the white race has observed certain definite reactions about the age of lovers, and it has all but codified the results.

First of all there is the almost universal acceptance of the man's slight seniority in marriage. Woman develops emotionally and physically three years earlier than man. Hence she should and she does marry a man somewhat older than she is. This insures a better equality between them and a proper protection for the expectant mother in an embattled world. So much for the factor of age at the time of early maturity when marriages are made. Other patterns arise in the first years of love-making and the last, and these patterns are definite and well recognized. They all deal with a greater difference in age, and put much store by it. We are used to the spectacle of adolescent youth loving maturity. If we remember our inner lives from seven to seventeen, we remember one or more love affairs of this sort. The commonest feature of them all is unrequited love. The boy is filled with fleeting but terrific heartaches for a goddess who is unattainable by reason of her seniority. The girl in grade school or high school longs to disclose the greatness of

her soul by dying a romantic, heroic death in the service of an incomparable but indifferent male of eighteen or twenty-five, or even an elderly one of thirty. At the other end of life we know all too well the picture of the man or woman of forty seeking to recapture youth through a love affair —not so often unrequited—with someone anywhere from ten years to a generation younger.

The second question on the love affairs card brought out a mass of most interesting and systematic facts on this matter of disparity of age. The following table summarizes the attachments where the loved one was at least five years older or younger. It shows the percentage such love affairs present to the total for each sex.

Ages	*Men Loving Older Women*	*Women Loving Older Men*	*Men Loving Younger Women*	*Women Loving Younger Men*
10 to 19	17%	35%	0.4%	0%
20 to 29	11%	41%	13%	1%
30 to 39	6%	37%	56%	19%
40 or over	1%	19%	80%	38%

The first two columns begin by showing the love of adolescents for older men and women—the girls having more attachments than the boys. After the 'teens the men's interest in older women rapidly declines; the women, however, continue up to forty to take quite as great an interest in older men as they did in their school days. The last two columns show the men and women steadily growing more and more interested in the younger generation. The men display this interest even in their marrying years, and it swells up into an overwhelming fixation after forty. The

women show no interest in younger men until the thirties; then it leaps up, and it increases still more in the forties. With both men and women aesthetic considerations doubtless play a part here. It is a greater factor for the men, because women's appearance alters more drastically. The women balance this with the fact that, in the thirties, their amorous energies do not slacken as rapidly as the men's, and it is only from younger men that they can get a response that ignores fading beauty. Youth, of course, puts less store by its own physical charms. Graying heads and sagging features seem infinitely remote as personal possessions, and the achievements and perquisites of maturity are most coveted.

V

"'Twere better to have loved and lost," we are informed, "than never to have loved at all." That fact ought to be clear enough from the cases of the three women in this research who had never loved any man. All three were as unhappily married as it is possible to be. But the reader of Tennyson, as well as the reader of this article, may wonder *how many* 'twere better to have loved and lost—just how far a man or woman can go in unrequited or at least unculminating love, and how far the capacity for love affairs is associated with the capacity for being happily married.

Among the men of this research one man ran up a total of twenty-seven love affairs—against one very unhappy marriage. The old saying: "He went through the woods and through the woods

and picked up a crooked stick," appears to have truth in it, not only for this sentimental Don Juan, but also for the whole two hundred men and women. Divide them into two groups—those that had had at least one and not more than five love affairs, and those that had been in love more than five times—and here is what we get:

46 men with five or less love affairs	59% are happily married
54 men with more than five love affairs	44% are happily married
39 women with five or less love affairs	59% are happily married
58 women with more than five love affairs	38% are happily married

If it is not altogether desirable to be too much the creature of Aphrodite, does it also follow that it is better not to develop amatory interests too early in life? Yes, so far as these two hundred people are concerned, the age of the first love affair does seem to bear some relation to their happiness in marriage. Let us divide the first love affairs into the following genetic groups: younger than six, from six to eleven, from twelve to fifteen, and over fifteen. So few cases fall in the first group that the results are not dependable. The other three groups can be cataloged as follows:

6 to 11 years old	men and women below	average of married happiness
12 to 15 years old	women above / men below	average of married happiness
15 years and older	men above / women below	average of married happiness

Barring out the shadow period before six, there is only one period for the men and only one for the women when the beginning of love-interests seems to agree with a later ability to find a happy marriage. This comes first for women—early adolescence from twelve to fifteen—and later for men—from fifteen on. These findings are doubly interesting. The best age for a girl to feel her first love is the physiological equivalent of the best age for the boy. They are separated by the three years that have come traditionally to be considered the difference between female "coming of age" at eighteen and male "coming of age" at twenty-one. For either boys or girls to fall in love before their proper period suggests a degree of emotional precocity, and this precocity, in turn, may be a factor in making for adult emotional maladjustment.

VI

Some years ago Sigmund Freud set a large section of the intelligent world thinking about the Œdipus complex, wondering if the love of a boy for his mother and of a girl for her father determined the kind of people they chose to marry and the happiness of their married lives. Certain questions in the research brought out information on this score. Are boys and girls attracted to other girls and boys because of their similarity in mind and body to the parents of the opposite sex? How does this work out in the case of sisters and brothers—are boys attracted to girls of their sisters' type, and girls to boys of their brothers' type? Here is a summary of what the two hundred said when they were asked if such resemblances existed:

	In Physique	*In Disposition*
The Men found—		
no resemblance to mother or sisters	in 478 cases	in 476 cases
a resemblance to mother . .	in 139 cases	in 113 cases
a resemblance to mother and sister	in 14 cases	in 11 cases
a resemblance to sister . .	in 40 cases	in 32 cases
a resemblance to woman who later was his wife	in 2 cases	in 2 cases
a resemblance to himself . .	in 1 case	in 1 case
a resemblance to brother . .	in 1 case	
Question not conclusively answered	in 6 cases	in 46 cases

	In Physique	*In Disposition*
The Women found—		
no resemblance to father or brothers	in 499 cases	in 416 cases
a resemblance to father . .	in 101 cases	in 130 cases
a resemblance to father and brother	in 16 cases	in 7 cases
a resemblance to brother . .	in 29 cases	in 30 cases
a resemblance to mother . .		in 1 case
Question not conclusively answered	in 32 cases	in 93 cases

Both the men's and the women's answers show a large majority for physical dissimilarity; but the men show more partiality for girls resembling their mothers than women show for boys resembling their fathers. It is also apparent that mother-types and father-types are likely to be more attractive than sister-types and brother-types.

These results are about what one might expect. They follow a natural biological pattern and they exaggerate the data on the mothers and wives and the fathers and husbands of the people in this research. Biologically it is necessary that we

should marry unrelated people and people who do not resemble us in order to avoid the evils of inbreeding. Furthermore, the boy has got to free himself from his emotional bondage to his mother if he is going to marry any woman at all or find any happiness with her; and he does this through an instinctive liking for girls who seem very different from his mother.

It is rather amusing to note how the biological urge against inbreeding lies behind some of the picturesque and often absurd cravings of youth for novelty. The unknown and the unfamiliar are notoriously more attractive to the young than the things they are familiar with, the things that have become dull commonplaces. Even one's name is likely to undergo a sea-change in that period when the mating urge begins to assert itself. William H. Brown becomes W. Hetherington Brown. Gladys Smith becomes Gladyes Smith and even Gladyse Smythe—if the girl can get far enough away from home. Boys with the sandy hair and the blue eyes of father and brother are passed up for heroes with raven-wing hair and smouldering black eyes. The boy who has lived with a brunette mother and brunette sisters dreams of angels with flaxen curls and sad blue eyes. And yet if the family love-ties are not unwholesomely strong, but just strong enough to become agreeable memories in early adult years, all this flare for the unfamiliar is likely to be replaced by a desire to duplicate the outer aspect of such love-ties on a grown-up, unrelated basis. The data on the resemblance of husbands and wives to parents showed the workings of the tendency towards and away from the parent type.

The data on love affairs exaggerate the same results because the great majority of the love affairs naturally occur in the earlier years, and that is the time when the necessity of sheering off from the parent—particularly from the boy's mother—is most sharp. Ironically enough—and perhaps this is the source of the greatest amount of tragedy in this tragic world of ours—though biology urges men to avoid inbreeding with women of their mothers' traits, men are happiest in their marriages only when they have chosen women physically resembling their mothers. Out of the seventeen men in this research who married women with this resemblance, sixteen were happily married.

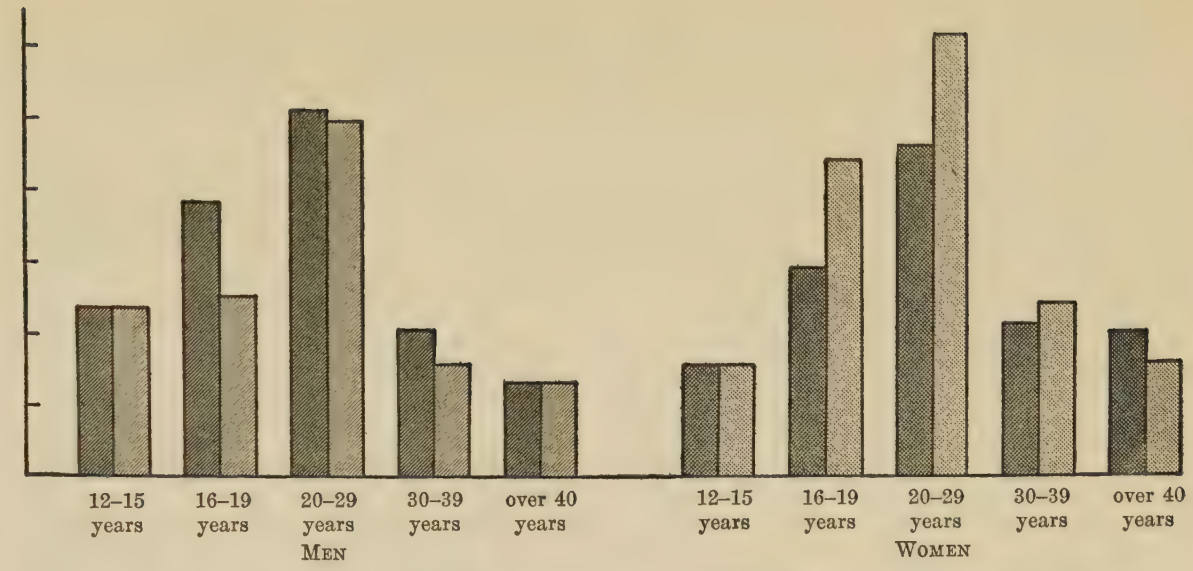
For the women there are a few qualifications. Since both boys and girls are far, far closer to their mothers than to their fathers, the father-daughter tie is never so intimate and powerful as the mother-son tie. Yet it can be much more troublesome in one way, for the girl seems more easily disturbed by the implications of incestuous desires than is the boy; she has not lived through it in the relationship of babyhood. Perhaps one other factor modifies the girl's adherence to the same biological principles as the boy, and makes her love fewer men resembling father or brother. As a potential mother and as a creature with less physical strength to safeguard her welfare and that of her unborn children, it is desirable that all her urges relating to defense or discrimination in the matter of loving and mating should be doubly strong.

So much for the physical resemblances between parents and loved ones. In the case of the dispo-

sition, there is a similarly large majority against resemblance, yet there are differences worth noting. The women had fewer instead of more affairs than the men with lovers whose dispositions did not resemble their fathers', and they were more likely to follow the father-pattern of disposition than the men were to follow the mother-pattern. In other words, the women shied away from the physical and were attracted by the dispositional a little more than the men; which is natural enough when we consider that the physical implies an incestuous element to which the boys had grown better used in childhood through their great intimacy with their mothers.

This difference between the response of men and the response of women to people with the physical or the dispositional qualities of their parents comes out more clearly if we divide the love affairs into genetic periods and decades, and again show the number of love affairs per person. Both of the following graphs have to do only with the small fraction of love affairs where the loved one resembled the parent of the opposite sex. The one at the left compares the reactions of the men to the physical and the dispositional resemblances. The one at the right does the same for the women.

In the men's graph the physical seems always more attractive than the dispositional during the busiest years of loving and mating. The men do not fear incest so much as the women, and they can therefore love the physical image of their mothers more directly. In the women's graph the disposition of the father seems always more attractive than his physique until the last decade



Distribution by age periods of the love affairs in which there was a resemblance to either the physical or the dispositional traits of the parent of the opposite sex. To the left, the men: the heavily shaded columns representing physical resemblance, the others representing the dispositional resemblance. The women are similarly indicated at the right. The heights of the columns, based on the average number of love affairs per person, are only important for purposes of comparison.

of love—the forties—is reached. Compare the two graphs, and you see that the men are more attracted than the women by the physical resemblance in four periods out of five—and the more important periods; and you will also see that in four periods out of five the women are more attracted than the men by the dispositional resemblance.

VII

One aspect of the 1,358 love affairs caused the examiner a good deal of embarrassment on two scores. It was the subject of "petting." In the first place, the answers of the two hundred men and women to the question: "To what extent were there demonstrations of affection between you?" brought the examiner no sure convictions for or against petting. The other source of embarrassment grows out of the fact that this is not a medical article, and that the examiner has a middle-aged vocabulary. Biologically considered, there are six degrees of petting; but the divisions may not look so definite and scientific in the words that the examiner has to fall back on in a popular treatment of this material. We have to add two other categories for those affairs in which there was no physical love-making of any kind, and for those about which only inconclusive answers were given. The following table summarizes the degree of petting indulged in in the 1,358 love affairs of these two hundred people. Love affairs both before and after marriage are listed, but "complete intimacy" does not include the cases of ordinary married couples.

Kinds and Degrees of Love-making	*Total Number of Affairs* *Men*	*Women*
1. No demonstrations of affection whatsoever	233	240
2. Nothing beyond holding hands, exchanging presents, etc.	85	61
3. Moderate kissing and embracing which involved no conscious element of what we believe the younger generation have in mind when they speak of "petting"	120	129
4. Ardent kissing and embracing which, in the examiner's day, even a "nice" girl might permit; but which might cause her to be classified as "sloppy" or "spoony" if the affair were obviously not of a serious nature	40	76
5. "Petting" in its modern sense—that is, love-making to an extreme degree, but not involving complete physical intimacy	82	31
6. Complete physical intimacy	95	96
7. None before engagement: extent after engagement not given	7	15
8. Question not conclusively answered	19	29

The outstanding fact in this table has to do with "complete physical intimacy." The hundred men accounted for ninety-five such episodes among them. The hundred women accounted for ninety-six. The average is close to one apiece, but that does not mean that all but five men and four women were involved. Actually, forty-two men and forty-one women provided these figures. Seventeen men and eleven women had stopped just short of the sixth degree of intimacy with people whom they loved.

Now what can we learn of the relation of such conduct to the married happiness of these people? How far are tendencies towards extreme demon-

strations of affection associated with ability or inability to make successful marriages? Here is a table summing this up:

41 men did not go beyond the 4th degree of petting .	27 (66%) happily married
17 men went to the 5th degree but not beyond . . .	11 (65%) happily married
42 men went to the 6th degree	13 (31%) happily married
48 women did not go beyond the 4th degree	26 (54%) happily married
11 women went to the 5th degree but not beyond . .	6 (55%) happily married
41 women went to the 6th degree	13 (32%) happily married

This table seems to point in certain very definite directions:

First, fewer women than men went to the 5th degree of petting without going to the extreme of physical intimacy.

Second, in the case of the women as well as the men, those who went to the 5th degree—but stopped short of complete physical intimacy—show almost identically the same percentage of happy marriages as those who did not go beyond the 4th degree. The percentage in both cases is well above the average.

Third, almost the same number of men and women indulged in complete intimacy and these two groups show almost the same percentage of happy marriages. It is a very low percentage indeed.

What kept down the number of love affairs culminating in complete intimacy? The 9th and 10th questions tried to find this out. The explanations included such factors as parental disapproval, shyness, inexperience, feelings of

inferiority, moral scruples, and respect for the conventions and expediencies. The chief deterrent with the men was reverence for the loved one; 198 affairs were halted by this, while moral scruples came in a very bad second with only thirty-three. The women—provided with no reverence for the male to hold them back—reported no one outstanding deterrent. Twenty-six affairs were controlled by shyness, twenty-three by physical unattractiveness in the man (which must mean that a few conquests were mixed in here with true love affairs). Moral scruples swayed only sixteen of the women's affairs. It is mildly amusing that the women topped the men in claiming that no inner restraint of any kind deterred them from the freest petting—351 to 322. Throughout the research the women gave the examiner the feeling that they were unwittingly indulging in gestures of defiance against the traditional definition of what is nice and ladylike in female conduct. They didn't mean to be otherwise than accurate in their accounts, but now and then there would slip in a statement which said, "This is how free of respect for ancient taboos I am!" but which sounded like, "This is how free I'd like to be."

What terminated the 1,358 love affairs? Marriage and re-marriage took care of 210 of them. Out of the remaining 1,148, separation was the more general termination. It accounted for most of the affairs before adolescence, and it continued to be the most important factor when the age came for the youthful lovers to go to boarding school or college. "Out of sight, out of mind," like most old sayings, seems to express a psychological principle behind certain kinds of human

conduct. "His family moved to another part of the city and I didn't see him again until my interest in another boy had made me forget him" is a characteristic answer. The love affairs of 146 men and of 125 women ended in this fashion.

A table showing the relative importance of the commoner endings of love affairs may be of some interest:

	Men	*Women*
1. Separation, such as moving with the family to another town, going to boarding school, entering college, etc. .	146	125
2. Dissatisfaction with the beloved person	93	78
3. Affair not terminated by any particular development, there having been just a gradual drifting apart	82	81
4. Affair terminated by the beloved person	70	73
5. "I fell in love with somebody else" .	51	73
6. The affair may be said never to have existed save as a subjective event for the person telling about it, the beloved one having been worshipped from a distance or at least having never displayed any interest in him (or her)	39	37
7. The affair has not yet terminated (these are extra-marital affairs which were still in progress when the research was made)	29	26
8. Terminations growing out of the circumstance that one or both of the lovers were already married	9	22
9. Interference on the part of the girl's family	7	14
10. The death of the beloved person. . .	6	15
11. Interference on the part of the man's family	6	2
12. Because he felt inferior to the girl—unworthy of her	5	0

When we compare the men's column with the women's a few points of difference become apparent. Separation from the loved one, dissatisfaction with her and, on the other hand, a feeling of inferiority to her terminated the men's affairs more frequently than the women's. The women had more affairs that ended because they fell in love with somebody else, because one or both of the lovers were already married, because the women's families interfered or because the boys or men died with whom they were in love.

The love affairs that led to marriage were often brought to an end at some time after this momentous step had been taken. But not always. To sit in the examiner's chair and wait for the answer on this point was almost as exciting as waiting for the election returns. The question "What terminated your affair?" might be answered sourly or tersely or philosophically or cheerfully, and it was entertaining to try to guess which of these reactions it would be. The replies are worth listing:

	Men	*Women*
1. "It hasn't terminated yet"; "It ended in a successful marriage"	53	49
2. (Without other comment) "Marriage"; "Getting married"	39	31
3. Separation	5	10
4. Divorce	9	3
5. "It never was a love affair on my side"; "I was never in love with the person I married"	1	5
6. "I married the poor soul"	0	2
7. "Possibly marriage has terminated it"	0	1
8. "It terminated impulsively in marriage"	0	1
9. "It was not a hurried marriage" . .	0	1

VIII

It seems rather a pity that these 1,358 experiments with love and romance should have yielded only ninety-six happy marriages for the two hundred experimenters. And it is only natural to ask why these fifty-one men and forty-five women were more fortunate than the other 104. The examiner has a fairly extensive familiarity with the gravity of the problem behind this question, and a still greater respect for the rules of scientific evidence which psychiatrists must learn to apply on a large scale before they can solve it. For these reasons the examiner can only have a few more opinions and possibly a few more intelligent guesses to make than he had before the research began.

These opinions and guesses can be roughly summed up in the judgment that the cards were stacked against the two hundred men and women before their 1,358 experiments were well under way. Fathers and, much more frequently, mothers stacked the cards. Sometimes they did it by not getting on well together and betraying the fact daily to their children. Too often the parents were so embarrassed, evasive, or down-right untruthful in response to the legitimate sexual curiosities of their children that the experiments in love and romance were carried on with a sense of guilt. Everybody was ready to tell them without reserve what to do by way of preparation for this or that kind of adult vocation, and just what adults really do when they are occupied with grown-up jobs. Consequently these children and adolescents could let their imaginations go without let when they tried to fantasy what it would

be like to grow up and function as firemen or milliners, doctors or actresses, lawyers or housekeepers. No boy or girl among our two hundred would have been so ill-advised as to set up prematurely in any of these occupations. Youth can be amazingly patient in waiting for the satisfaction of urges that can be faced without shame and appraised in terms of the "is" and the "is not" of reality instead of the "ought" and the "ought not" of superstition and arbitrary taboo.

The examiner suspects that there are so many unsuccessful experimenters in the field of love and romance not alone because it is only half illuminated for childhood and adolescence, but also because it is full of roped-off places that are unintelligently labelled. The signs read, "Evil," "Unclean," "Murky," "Must be entered furtively if at all, even by adults," and "Keep out!" They ought to read: "The management wishes to make this entire field a place of joyous exploration for you. There are a few hazardous areas in it, and others which you cannot fully enjoy without first learning something about them. If you wish to supplement your own common sense with truthful and explicit information about these areas, you need only ask questions or read the guide books."

Some of us feel that if we were permitted to train the management, fewer of the exploring children would get hurt, and more of them would find the happiness they are looking for.

CHAPTER XV

A SUMMARY OF THE FACTS

The most important and significant points developed by the research. A bird's-eye view of two hundred marriages.

The following summary states as briefly as possible the most significant and interesting points developed in the research. It supplies, in a sense, a bird's-eye view of the marriages of two hundred men and women.

The men were more happily married than the women. Fifty-one men had achieved happy marriages, against forty-five women. The fifty-five married couples showed about the same ratio. The age of the people and the age of the marriages made little difference except in the case of the very youngest men and women or the very youngest marriages. Sixty-one per cent of the men who had been married less than four years were happy. The women were still happier—64 per cent: they had not yet been disillusioned.

Marriages late in life proved notably happier than early marriages. Out of the men married between thirty and thirty-four, 66 per cent were happy, against 63 per cent of the women. Only 32 per cent of the men who had married before twenty-four were happy, and only 28 per cent of the women. More women married between twenty and twenty-four than in any other five-year period.

Men married to women who were one to three

years older proved the happiest. Women married to husbands of equal age showed twice as large a proportion of happy marriages as those married to men one to five years older. Women married to much older men were happier than the average. Here we found the re-establishment of the son-mother and daughter-father relationship making for matrimonial comfort.

The men and women who had never attended college were more happily married than the college graduates. Where the husband and wife had an equal amount of formal education, the couples were above the average of happiness. Superior education made those men and women unhappy whose mates did not have it, and made the under-educated mates more than usually content.

The men grew dissatisfied with their marriages earlier than the women. When asked if they would end their marriages if they could press a button and find that they had never been married, more women than men—thirty-six to thirty-four—said they would do so. More women than men—twenty-six to twenty-three—said they would not wish to marry, knowing what they now know. More women than men—twenty-five to twenty-two—said they would prefer not to go on living with their mates because they no longer loved them. Many more women than men—fifty-three to thirty-seven—voted their marriages failures.

The women found more causes of dissatisfaction in their marriages than did the men. From three-fifths to two-thirds lodged complaints. The primary and strongest complaint of the women was over the sexual; in the main they found their husbands too amourous. The men complained

first of all of temperamental difficulties and put the sexual second; on sex, they complained that their wives were not amourous enough. In total number of complaints—allowing each man or woman to mention as many as he pleased—temperamental troubles exceeded sexual troubles, and the sense of domestic slavery or lack of personal freedom came third. The women were more inclined than the men to believe themselves socially ill-mated. They were also more inclined to believe themselves intellectually ill-mated; but the difference was not so sharp.

Economic friction played a smaller part in the unhappiness of these men and women than psychiatrists commonly suppose. The women were overwhelmingly more sensitive to economic friction. They complained more of bad treatment, and they believed their husbands thought them extravagant or unfair when few husbands actually did think so.

The size of income made less difference to the married happiness of the men than to that of the women. Between the old-fashioned system of no allowances for the wives, allowances or budgets, and joint bank accounts, the old-fashioned arrangement showed the most happiness for both men and women, and the partnership basis showed the least. Wage-earning wives were less happy than the average, and so were their husbands. By and large, economic troubles seemed merely a handy peg on which to hang deeper complaints.

The women were more intent on material troubles than the men, but were more sensitive all along the line. They were readier to see everything wrong. They catalogued more dissatisfac-

tions. They particularized far more. They saw three times as many good traits and bad traits in their husbands' dispositions as the men did in their wives'.

The women of this research, like all female primates, were sexually responsive and sexually provocative at all times, and not, like the lower orders of mammals, only when physiologically ready to conceive. On the other hand, they reported that they felt maximum desire, in the main, just after their monthly period.

Only four women said they did not wish to have children, yet not one man or woman had refrained from using contraceptives at some time or other, except those who were sterile. Only half of them felt that the contraceptives they used were safe. Less than a third of the women and less than a quarter of the men had found satisfactory contraceptives.

While many of the people reported that physical intercourse was a matter of mutual desire, more women than men reported that for them it was often or usually a case of submission to the mate's desire. The submissive men were all over thirty-seven. More than a third of the men reported some inability to have physical intercourse as often as their mates desired it. Eighty-five per cent of the men still found their mates sexually attractive; only 66 per cent of the women said the same. Over-sexed mates produced less than the average proportion of happy marriages; the wives of under-sexed husbands showed only 18 per cent of happy marriages.

In proposing alterations in their mates, the men and women put the greatest emphasis on changing

mental and temperamental qualities. The men put physical changes next and changes in habits last. The women put habits above physique.

The women were more concerned with the conversational qualities of their husbands than with any other changes, and they wanted to increase the men's talkativeness, while the men wanted to make their wives less talkative. Next, the women wanted to make their husbands less selfish, less bad tempered, and more affectionate. The men wanted better tempers in their wives, better intelligence, and more passionate natures.

The men were much more concerned than the women about improving the physical appearance of their mates. Almost half the men wanted to improve their wives' figures and almost a quarter wanted to improve the skin—both physical features that deteriorate with age. The women paid no attention to withering charms—except loss of hair. They voted in the main to change unchangeable features—particularly the height—in order to bring their mates nearer the appearance of their fathers.

The research supplied much corroboration of the importance of the Œdipus complex as affecting a man's relations to his wife. Those men who had been on reasonably affectionate terms with their mothers were most happily married. Those who had been unhappy with their mothers and those who had been extravagantly attached to them were below the average of married happiness. The men who had married women who resembled the men's mothers either physically or temperamentally were notably happier in their marriages.

These same things held true for the women, with modifications due to the fear of incest. The intimate relation of both boy and girl to the mother, and the greater distance between both children and the father appeared to make the women fear incest more and the men homosexuality.

Greater happiness may result from following the pattern of the Œdipus complex, but much the larger proportion of the men and women ran counter to it. They appeared to invite unhappiness in an attempt to escape inbreeding. The women—more disturbed by fear of incest—were even less ready than men to follow the pattern which would bring them a greater chance of happiness. The fact that the mother rather than the father must care for and nourish the girl would seem to account for the greater unhappiness of women in marriage.

The men and women whose parents got along badly were below the average of married happiness. The men and women whose parents had been divorced were a little happier, though distinctly below the average.

The women displayed a smaller sense of inferiority than the men along nine non-sexual lines. Nine men who reported a fear of sexual inferiority were only half as self-confident along other lines as the rest. Fifteen men who said they had once had such a fear but had thrown it off were more self-confident than the average on all points. The self-confidence of both men and women was lower as regards the judgment of other men than of other women. The happily married men and

women showed a higher self-confidence grade than the unhappy.

Almost half the women failed to reach in the sex act the explosive climax which is enjoyed by all men. Nearly half these women had developed a psychoneurosis. Only one out of all the rest of the women had a nervous ailment of this kind. The research appeared to show that inability to reach the climax may be to a small extent the result of marriage to inexperienced men, but that it is largely the result of a fear or a disgust of sex ingrained into them as little girls. Those whose sex curiosities had been met most frankly and truthfully were the most liable to experience the full satisfaction of sex. Almost all those who were less than six years old when they learned where babies come from had the climax. Sex aggressions in childhood appeared to block the emotional response to sex if the sex education had been bad, but had little or no effect if the person had been told the truth easily and naturally before the aggression took place. Masturbation seemed to be a consequence rather than a cause of sexual disability in women.

Forty-six of the men were virgins at marriage, against sixty-five of the women. They were more happily married than the rest.

Before marriage a third of the men and a third of the women had had physical relations with the mates they later married. They were below the average of married happiness.

Before marriage twenty-four men and fourteen women had had physical relations with others than the persons they later married. They were below the average of married happiness.

Twenty-eight men and twenty-four women had committed adultery. They were distinctly less happy than the rest.

Fifty-nine of the men and forty-seven of the women had had illicit relations either before or after marriage. They were below the average of married happiness.

Two-thirds of the adulteresses had never experienced the sexual climax. The men who were either virgins at marriage or had been extremely promiscuous showed the largest percentage of faithful husbands.

In reporting traits that made their mates less attractive sexually the men put the emphasis on physique and the women on disposition.

The men were more inclined than the women to admit that they craved variety of sexual experience.

The proportion of virgin men increased through the years; the proportion of virgin women increased until we reached those born later than 1890. The tendency of the men to have physical relations with their wives before marriage decreased with lateness of birth. The tendency of the men toward illicit intercourse decreased with each new generation. It decreased in the case of the women too, till we reached those born later than 1890; then it increased and exceeded that of the men by 20 per cent.

The men and women reported 1,358 love affairs —about equally divided between the sexes—in which there was a definite affection for the other person but not necessarily any physical intimacy. After marriage almost half of the women and almost a third of the men had felt such attachments

for others than their mates. These men and women were much less happily married than the rest.

The women showed the largest number of love affairs between sixteen years of age and twenty; the men, between twenty-one and twenty-five. This corresponds with the earlier physical maturity of women. Both sexes showed an increase in the number of love affairs after forty, the women more markedly than the men. After they passed thirty the men and women showed a marked tendency toward love affairs with much younger people. Those who reported less than six love affairs showed a higher percentage of happy marriages than those reporting more. The happiest women were those whose first love affair had come between twelve and fifteen; the happiest men had come upon their first loves after fifteen.

The loved ones resembled the opposite parent in physique or disposition in only a sixth to a quarter of the love affairs. Where there was a resemblance, the men tended toward the physical, the women toward the dispositional.

Forty-two men and forty-one women indulged in physical relations with their loved ones without benefit of clergy. These men reported ninety-five such episodes; the women, ninety-six. These men and women were distinctly below the average of married happiness.

CHAPTER XVI

A SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

I

The examiner and the co-author * confess themselves just a bit staggered at the task of trying to end their book with a chapter of general, moral, and ethical conclusions drawn from this research. Even a single marriage, with all the interactions of two separate human personalities, is too appallingly complex. The many marriages of this study leave but one vivid and sure impression—the sense that most husbands and wives have been so thoroughly warped by the training and environment of their childhood that they can do very little today to better their condition. Indeed, there in the hopeless dilemma of these thwarted people lies the only incontrovertible conclusion of this research: The proper attitude of the parents toward the child is the only sure cure for the ills of matrimony today. And it will not take effect for twenty years.

Yet something more can be said and should be said regarding other matters and other remedies. For any improvement that men and women can make in their own individual situation will enable them to handle better the problem of the child, and any blunder can hardly make matters worse than they are.

The authors would like to venture some advice to three classes of individuals and through them to society at large. These three classes are: first,

* The *de facto* author.—G. V. H.

married men and women perplexed over the frictions of their own marriages; second, single men and women contemplating matrimony; and, third, fathers and mothers who want to give their children a reasonable chance to grow up and become happy husbands and wives.

But we must begin by repeating that this is an appallingly complex subject and we must therefore warn the reader against the danger of assuming that even the best of rules will fit all cases. We are thoroughly convinced of three things, one of which applies to each of the classes of readers needing advice, and yet not one of these statements can be made without qualifications. We believe that seriously discordant couples who go on living together only because they have children ought, as a matter of fact, to get unmarried as soon as possible simply for the sake of these children. We believe that almost any unmarried man or woman who has already had ten or a dozen serious love affairs had better go on loving and losing—or running away—instead of loving and getting married. We believe that parents who want their children to be happily married some day are rarely justified in barring the subject of sex from the list of things that can be talked about in the family circle. And yet, for all our belief, we must recognize that there may be exceptions in particular cases.

II

First of all, then, the married pair and their matrimonial friction. Which means the problem of divorce—how far should separation be avoided even at the cost of discomfort?

The examiner, in his capacity as psychiatric *deus ex machina,* has induced a good many couples to dissolve their marriages, and he has restrained a good many from doing so. He has lived to regret as costly errors in judgment his action in persuading many of the reconciled pairs to stick it out; but he has never been a factor in bringing about a single divorce which he would now regard as unjustified by the ultimate outcome. Most psychiatrists would probably say the same of their own experience. The reason is fairly obvious. Here we have a man and a woman who once were so keen to live together that they gladly faced the hazards of matrimony, yet who now cannot discuss their problems with each other with entire frankness, in good temper, and without recrimination. They must each, separately and in confidence, seek the advice of a lawyer or a physician. If, on top of this, the situation is so bad that an outsider's advice can play the determining rôle in either continuing or ending their marriage, then divorce is usually the best solution.

This statement is not made arbitrarily. It finds support in our two hundred case records. The gathering of these records began in October, 1924, and terminated in the spring of 1926, but the research office—which was open to all persons who had been subjects of the investigation—was not closed until the end of June, 1928. Letters and visits from many of the two hundred—especially those with real matrimonial problems—were frequent, and brought out some suggestive facts. For one thing, no man or woman whose marriage fell into the seriously dissatisfied group, listed in chapter two as rating from zero to four,

disclosed any less dissatisfaction after the lapse of one, two, or, in some cases, three years. A surprisingly large proportion of this group—eleven out of the fifty-four who were living together at the beginning of the research—had either moved on to divorce or made plans for this solution of their problem. This was not because such a course had been advised by the examiner. His relationship to these men and women was sufficiently unlike his relationship to his private cases to make him very cautious in such matters. Divorce or separation was merely the logical outcome of an intolerable situation. These men and women might have been saved a year or more of unhappiness if their satisfaction-grades—which indicated whether they had been successful in their marriages—had been calculated as soon as each examination was over, and if positive advice had then been given them to do immediately what they did in the end. Many—perhaps all but one—of the other seriously dissatisfied couples ought, ideally, to be given an outside, professional push towards this effective cure for a bad marriage. As surely as a speedy, painless death is the only human escape from a cancer of the stomach which will not yield to an operation, divorce is the only tolerable solution for such seriously unhappy marriages.

III

What are some of the outstanding things that make for the unhappiness and discord which must end in divorce? Let us consider them not as they would be disclosed to the statistically-minded by our tables, but as they would appear through a

study of the individual case records *in toto* in relation to the tables.

Here we ought to discriminate between two kinds of unhappily married people—those who are matrimonial incompetents and can never find happiness with any mate, and those who are merely mismated. The incompetents include many more types than the impotent or the homosexual husband and the frigid or the Lesbian wife, and divorce is the only way out for the normal person who has had the misfortune to marry any one of them.

First of all among the incompetents comes the man who is the victim of the "terrible mother," the maternal vampire and high priestess of "mother love" who wrecks marriages a score of years before their beginning. Sometimes she is an unloved wife, but more typically a woman whose false-purity of soul—forced upon her by her own parents—will not permit her to have a normal sex life with her husband. The wife who can not win her husband's love ties her son to her in his place. The "pure" mother finds a substitute for what her sinful original nature craves by over-loving her little boy. Either type of woman shows such a passion for the helpless young male that he is rendered incapable of giving anything like a normal, ungrudging love to any other woman. He may never be able to marry, or he may marry and find his marriage wrecked through one of the three possible attitudes which he may have assumed towards his mother. If he ultimately rebels against his vampire-mother and repudiates her affection, he repudiates along with it the affection of any other

woman who comes as close to him as a wife must come; he will continue his rebellion. If he becomes alternately a loving and a repudiating son, his wife—more likely, wives—will be subjected to love and repudiation by turns. Or, finally, if he remains steadfastly attached to his mother, then both he and his "poor, dear mother" will soon come to look upon a wife as an interloper.

Each of these three types of sons was represented in our list of men who were divorced before the examination began or shortly afterwards. Other husbands of our study obviously belonged in this group, and in every case their marriage was incurably bad. It would be the obvious duty of a psychiatrist to advise the wife of any such man to get rid of him as soon as possible—to give him back to his mother.

Another type of husband who should be regarded as a very doubtful bargain—in most cases an incompetent—is the son whose mother, for one reason or another, seemed to him during his childhood an inferior or an unworthy person. This is not a very prevalent type, for the boy's physical intimacy with his mother and his physical dependency upon her usually prevent him from making an adverse estimate of her later on. Yet an over-dominant father may force a son to see his mother in an inferior light, or the actual inferiority or unworthiness of the mother may be made obvious by the mother herself. In either case, femininity as such will be "sold" so adversely to him that he will be unable to live contentedly with any woman. Wives ought, as a rule, to divorce such husbands as incurably incompetent. Sometimes, however, the presence of

an admirable sister in the family during the boy's early years may save the situation. We had a number of sons of inferior or unworthy mothers in our list, and the only satisfactorily happy one gave an account of a strong attachment for an elder sister.

IV

Many and many a good husband, then, is ruined in childhood by a mother who makes herself too attractive, and very few by believing or discovering that their mothers are unworthy. With wives it is just the opposite. Fathers seldom get a chance to absorb their daughters' emotions so much that they can never love any other man. The examiner has had a few such cases in his practice; but only one example—and a doubtful one—appeared among the hundred wives of the research. On the other hand, women seem very prone indeed to become matrimonial failures as a result of the fact that when they were little girls they somehow got it into their heads that their fathers were failures.

A girl may arrive at a low opinion of her father without any influence from her mother, but usually it is the unhappy wife and mother who does the mischief. In any case the results are disastrous and long enduring. A wife who looks down on her father as an unattractive physical specimen or who in childhood thought him an unimportant person is almost a total liability. Divorce—before there are children or before she becomes economically dependent—is the kindest solution. Even if there are children—indeed, especially if there are children—such a man should get out of the family picture for their

sake. It is much better for a daughter if her father is not in the family atmosphere created by a woman who goes on believing, after marriage and motherhood, that her own mother was right in rating family males as irritating and insignificant persons. The examiner was pessimistic enough on this score before he began the research. Now he is utterly convinced that an unworthy father, whether in fact or only in the mother's scheme of things, is a hopeless handicap. As the exceptional cases returned for advice or comfort they proved to be running true to form: their marriages were taking a turn for the worse.

A wife whose early upbringing has made it impossible for her to reach the complete and explosive climax in physical love is not such hopeless material as an impotent husband. Yet, though she may fit into a happy marriage, she is far from being a good matrimonial risk. Her chance of becoming a psychoneurotic is almost fifty per cent. She is much more likely than her sexually normal sister to have post-marital love affairs—either purely romantic or of the romantic-adulterous kind. Even if she has got away mentally from the puritanical taboos of childhood she may still feel the same deep—and now unconscious—revulsion against sex, and so long as the substrata of her personality still belong to the psychological age of prudish, defensive purity, her husband's hold on her affections and her hold on her own nerves and her original intention to love her husband exclusively and forever must not be trusted too far.

Theoretically—and, in some cases, actually—the unconscious psychological set-up of such a

woman can be changed. Even if it cannot, a good many things can be done to ease the situation. Most of these belong to the art of love, and cannot be discussed in a non-censorable book. Such women—chronically unsatisfied in a physical way—are likely to crave variety of love experience, and some of the more philosophic of the husbands of our research claimed that, if they did not oppose the satisfaction of such cravings, the domestic situation grew less tense. Such a solution is likely to be highly unsatisfactory, however. If wife and husband take the same path, the marriage becomes merely one of convenience and expediency. Usually, however, the freedom is one-sided. The wife whose sexual freedom is sanctioned by her husband is rarely able to reciprocate and get away with it. She may take adulterous advantage of this mutual freedom, but her feelings will not permit anything less than fully monogamous behavior on her husband's part. Men, we may say, speaking *ex cathedra,* can much more easily learn to tolerate adultery in their wives than women can learn to tolerate it in their husbands.

V

Such advice to the unhappily married on the things that make divorce a necessity is simple enough. Advice to the unmarried on what they should do to avoid unhappy marriages is another matter. They are very unlikely to take it. Under the drive of an aroused passion they are much more likely to marry in haste than to go to a psychiatrist and have their personalities looked over and checked up. Yet a competent psychiatrist with some knowledge of the factors that

make for happy and unhappy marriages can advise a young couple with a high degree of certainty on many vital points. He can say to you, if you are a man and have difficulties with your potency, don't marry. If you feel like apologizing to your mother for preferring another woman to her, you have no more right to marry any woman than you have to ask her to accompany you on a westward flight across the Atlantic in a 1912 airplane. If you have long looked upon your mother as inferior or unworthy, better not take a chance. If you have seriously loved more than half a dozen women, be very, very sure you have at last found the right one. If you love a woman who is more than three years older than you are, your chance of happiness is small. If you love a woman ten, fifteen, or twenty years your junior, you are more likely than she to grow dissatisfied with the marriage. And so on through many points for men and women which the material of this book must suggest.

Unmarried people in love are most unlikely to take such advice or advice of any kind unless enforced by law and popular opinion. Which brings us to the State. In the face of extraordinary changes in the sexual life of our time, the State cannot remain complacent. What behavior it can visualize, codify, and enforce is another matter.

If you can rid your mind of conscious and unconscious prejudice, you must see the conditions that make some new social attitude toward marriage a necessity. They are clear enough in many aspects of this research. Let us mention only a few. There may be many reasons why marriage

occurs later in life than it used to, but it is certainly significant that, the later the marriage does occur, the happier it is likely to be. So long as we look on marriage as a permanent union immediately dowered with children this is only natural. We cannot choose mates wisely in the heat of first passion. On the other hand the human animal between 18 and 28 cannot lead a healthy or even a thoroughly sane life in a monastery.

We have watched the rather odd spectacle of young men growing more and more "moral" and young women growing less and less. The dual moral code was never a thing of beauty, but, at least, it did not present us with the spectacle of emasculated manhood verging on homosexuality. It left us with deep-rooted emotional prejudices against promiscuity in women. Now we have the dubious pleasure of watching the younger men losing some part of their virility and the younger women being knocked about rather cruelly by their liberated passions. Whatever has turned the young men virtuous, we see clearly enough that it is birth control which has changed the behavior of the young women. And yet, in the face of all this, we are doing nothing at all except continue on the statute books the laws that make contraceptives bootleg. Obviously society has got to do something about its moral attitudes and its marriage laws if it wants to survive this newest fruit of the tree of knowledge.

The problems of marriage are still largely the problems of woman. She has plenty of these problems and unfortunately some of the gravest lie clear outside anything the law can do. If she is badly brought up in childhood and given all

manner of prudish revulsions against sex, she is going to become a woman incapable of the complete satisfaction which marriage must give if it is not to be almost unbearable; and if she marries in the face of such disability, she must almost inevitably become a serious mental invalid. Now the State can do nothing by direct law to prevent panicky, badly-trained parents from spiritually castrating their daughters with the taboos of puritanism; but if the State remakes its sexual laws and gives a conscious, healthy recognition to the realities of our natural appetites, then men and women are likely to become less panicky and prudish as fathers and mothers.

VI

It is not so difficult to visualize laws which would recognize and try to straighten out a few twentieth century difficulties. Getting them enacted is, of course, another matter; but we can at least suggest points that ought to be covered by a decent statute on marriage and divorce:

(1) All persons wishing to marry must first be given extensive physical and mental examinations by competent professionals. Mental unfitness for marriage should render it illegal. By mental unfitness we do not mean merely insanity and imbecility, but personality defects such as have been discussed in the foregoing pages. Where there is physical unfitness for parenthood the fact should be disclosed to both parties, and if they still wish to marry they must give bond not to have children.

(2) No person, married or unmarried, should be permitted to bring children into the world without first obtaining a license permitting parenthood. This license should be granted only by a competent medico-psychiatric board. Unlicensed parenthood should be penalized

by depriving the mother of her child the moment it is born and fining both father and mother. Neither parent should be permitted to have contact with the unlicensed child until it reaches maturity.

(3) With the possible exception of women who marry so late in life that a delay of a few years might remove their chance of motherhood, a married couple should be denied a parenthood license until after the third year of marriage. But this license should not be issued until a careful examination into the state of their matrimonial health is made.

(4) Just as an enlightened community requires all persons to be vaccinated against smallpox, so ought every adolescent be given full and adequate birth-control information. Such information must be given as soon as the adolescent is capable of reproduction. Contraceptives should be manufactured by the government and sold at cost to any person who may ask for them.

(5) Divorces would be obtained in the following manner: Either spouse should register his or her intention to secure a divorce. The county clerk should charge a registry fee not exceeding one dollar, and should notify the court of domestic relations of the impending divorce. The court should then notify both parties to appear, secure from them affidavits as to the number of children, the age of each child, the economic and vocational status of both husband and wife, etc. He should then propose to the couple an economic arrangement which would be consistent with the alleged—and sworn-to—facts concerning children, finances, and vocations, and in conformity with the legally defined equities of the situation. Unless one or both spouses demand representation by an attorney this procedure should be without expense to them. As soon as the court of domestic relations defines the post-marital economic relation of the spouses and the disposition of their children in a manner acceptable to both parties to the prospective divorce only their signature is required. But the court withholds its divorcing decree, sending the necessary papers to the county clerk. At the end of six months the spouses may secure the decree terminating their marital union by making the necessary final signatures and paying another

dollar. The court then issues the decree of divorce. But the couple must take oath that since the first registry of intention with the county clerk they have lived apart and have not had physical marital relations. If they decide, after their affair has been examined by the court, that they do not wish a divorce, they must pay a substantial fine to the county treasury. A divorce would thus cost two dollars—assuming, of course, the absence of litigation. But there could be no litigation except on financial grounds or relative to the possession of the children. It would be held that, whereas the marital contract carries with it certain financial obligations of spouse to spouse, as defined by law, each spouse has a natural right to terminate it, regardless of the willingness or unwillingness of the other to have it terminated.

VII

How far is this "companionate marriage"? A good distance, perhaps, in one regard; for a legal ban against children until the fourth year of married life would give a couple plenty of chance to discover how fit they are to live together in the happy permanent union which is desirable when there are children. But the spirit of a couple living by such a law would be very different from the spirit of a couple living under voluntary companionate marriage. The important point is that the element of tentativeness under the proposed law would rest in the mind of the State, not in the mind of the lovers. It would not be an expression of doubt on the part of the couple on the eve of marriage. It would not even be an implication of experimentalism in the venture on their part.

No man and woman ought to marry unless they are so compulsively in love with each other that at the time of marriage they have an unqualified

conviction that they will wish to live together until the end of their lives. If the lovers do not have such a conviction, it is nobody's business what they do, so long as they do not arrange to get on each other's nerves year in and year out, and cap the climax by thrusting children into such a situation. But, if the lovers want to marry, it is the State—*and not the lovers*—that should entertain doubts. It is the State's business—*not the lovers'*—to leave a loophole.

We say this with conviction because we have a fairly intimate insight into what factors make lovers doubt—either consciously or unconsciously—whether they are likely to be satisfied with each other forever. It is easy to catalog the types who find companionate marriage attractive because their love is full of qualifying doubts: Among them are the boy who has not yet cut the emotional apron strings of his mother, the boy or girl who has an undercurrent or suspicion that all persons of the opposite sex may be, like the parents of the opposite sex, inferior or unworthy, the man or woman who may be in many other ways psychologically unfit for marriage to any person or to some particular type of person. What these people feel for the one they propose to marry is not the love upon which marriage can rest. An examination by any competent psychiatrist would dissipate it. Let such people do what they please with their emotions this side of marriage and parenthood. Their doubts damn them—so far as matrimony goes. *It is very wise for the State to have qualifying doubts, but where these exist in the mind of either lover, they are the symptoms of a bad set-up for marriage.*

VIII

What can we say to parents who hope to see their children marry happily when they grow up? First of all, read what Dr. John B. Watson has to tell you in "Psychological Care of Infant and Child." You may disagree with him in a few details, but, if you read his book with an open mind, these details will be few and unimportant. Whether the discoverer of that school of psychological thought which he calls Behaviorism is right or wrong about the unimportance of heredity, you can do nothing about it after the child is born. You can do nothing to change the fact that your offspring had you and your mate for its progenitors. But from the moment of the child's birth you can do a great deal—a very great deal indeed—to shape its psychological nature and mould its future habits, attitudes, tastes, and prejudices. Outsiders will interfere—perhaps disastrously—but you above all the rest will play God. You will create man in your own mental image.

The several millions of words in which the subjects of our research told us about themselves strongly support Watson's contention that what the child is by its heredity is almost negligible compared with what the world makes of it after birth—the parents most of all. And of the two parents, the mother, of course, has the more important influence. For many years she comes closest to the child both physically and emotionally. Later, when physical dependence has passed, the girl is likely to feel that the emotional tie between herself and her father is more fundamentally significant; but by that time her nature

and her future life are largely set. And so it is to the mother, first of all, that we must speak.

IX

In the case of boys, she must ask herself two questions. The first goes: "Is it my aim to establish between this male child and myself a tie which will forever hold him closer to me than to any other female?" If this is her aim, she owes it to him and to society to set about making the consequences as harmless as possible. She must deliberately condition him against falling in love and marrying, for, if she is successful in her first object, he can never find happiness in the fatally twisted and qualified love which is all he can develop for any other woman than herself.

The second question she must ask herself is: "Have I made the gift of life to this boy in order that he may use it in ways which will make for his own good ahead of mine?" If she can say "Yes," then she must be willing to waive possession of her male child for the sake of his future happiness, and her attitude and her behavior towards him are defined from the day of his birth. She must make him feel that her love for him is not a possessive love, that her concern for him is a cheerful, unsentimental acceptance of a natural duty, and that her chief aim is to prepare him for a well-socialized life outside the home. She must look to it that he sees her as a consistently wise and kindly person, quietly affectionate. Her demonstrations of physical affection must not come to be sources of sensual satisfaction to him. Watson's "pat on the head" seems the safest gesture, and his warnings against stroking the

body, cuddling, and holding the growing child on the mother's lap sound very wise to us after our survey of the facts in our records.

The fortunate men in this research were those whose mothers had set up by their example a pattern of worthy, wise, and desirable femininity, and whose temperate devotion had made it possible for their boys to grow up with an undercurrent of desire and compulsion to find among the girls of their own generation a personification of that pattern which would provide a fully satisfying love.

The unfortunate men—those that bred their marital misfortunes from their own natures, and these were in the vast majority—were the men who had been seduced in boyhood to an unconquerable longing either to possess the original of the mother-pattern or to repudiate it as always sure to be undesirable in the end.

X

A general reversal of these principles will go only a certain way in the rearing of girls. They, too must be given the kind of love which, as they mature, will not interfere with their achieving emotional freedom from the parents. They must be so socialized that they will not constantly fall back in adult life on longings for the values of infancy. They must not be stroked, coddled, petted, and nursed in ways to seduce them to dependence on either the father or the mother for sensual satisfactions. Girls must, most surely, be spared the marring that we saw in one of our subjects who married her husband because he reminded her of her mother, and who hated him

soon afterwards because on closer inspection he turned out to be someone else.

Further than this, come special problems with girls which are different from those that parents face with boys. The father, to whom the female child must look for a definition of a desirable male pattern, is not unto the daughter precisely what the mother is unto the son. Ordinarily he has little to do with her physical care. His pettings and coddlings are episodical. He is almost like an outside male. Of course he must define for her a pattern of masculinity which is to be desired as essential to her own being, or to be feared and ultimately tolerated as a hard price to pay for certain social, economic, and maternal satisfactions. But it is even more dangerous for the girl to develop an undercurrent of desire to possess the original of the pattern than it is for the boy. For some reason—which we suspect to be partly biological and partly due to the greater fear of sex that we instill into girls—incestuous impulses are far more dangerous factors in the female makeup than in the male. The girl who is too closely bound to her father emotionally stands a first-rate chance, not only of making a mess of her marriage, but of blowing up with a serious psychoneurosis. On the other hand, if a mother cannot conceal from her girls the real or imagined unworthiness or unimportance of their father, she should either get rid of the father or turn her children over to people who can give them a reasonable chance for normal development.

XI

All the primary urges of human nature have got to be socialized and the task begins early in infancy. Some—such as bodily cleanliness—are more important to the future sex life than is commonly imagined, and these Watson treats more effectively and thoroughly than is possible in these pages. But a book on marriage is surely the place to emphasize with the greatest vigor the necessity of dealing properly with one of the instincts of childhood which bears vitally on the psycho-sexual happiness of men and women. This is sex curiosity.

The sex curiosity of childhood can be safely handled on only one basis. This is the full, detailed, realistic presentation of the facts from the very beginning. There must be an absolute avoidance on anything suggestive of shame, embarrassment, or disgust on the part of all members of the family in exposing their bodies and discussing the structures and functions of sex. At the same time the child must be made to feel the expediency —never the "morality"—of refraining from exposure and discussion outside the house, and from sexual self-stimulation and sexual plays with others. No child should reach the age of five without knowing from daily, humdrum experience exactly what the adult male and female sex parts look like. He should know that the physical relations of male and female are primarily a satisfying love-play, which, for reasons of fact or expediency, rather than for moral considerations, must be deferred until maturity. He should know what concretely is involved in conception, where and how the baby is carried, how and from what

part of the mother's body it is born. He should know why the physical relation is not usually permitted to lead to conception, and how this is effected. Furthermore, since innumerable forces outside the home will soon do their best to make the child afraid, ashamed, and disgusted when the matter of sex is brought to the foreground, it is the duty of enlightened parents to insure a corrective atmosphere in the home.

There is no danger in all this—at least no more danger than in living, and far less than in denying life. If we substitute simple, detailed, realistic statements of deterrent fact for mystical and arbitrary prohibition, youth can be very patient in deferring to maturity the satisfactions that cannot safely be enjoyed till then. For this reason it is far safer to deal factually with sex in bringing up children than to deal with it prohibitively.

On the other side, we have the significant fact that children who are frightened and lied to about sex grow up far less able to deal sanely, healthfully and effectively with the passions of maturity.

XII

Looking back over this research we are struck with an immense pessimism. It is not over the institution of marriage. It is merely despair over the way in which the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, and the children, growing up, inevitably repeat the process. Again and again we see the misery of maturity driving men and women to teach their children exactly those things which will perpetutate the misery when the children themselves grow up. In this respect the family circle seems a vicious circle. It seems

indeed the greatest vicious circle ever conceived; for its circumference has become the straight line of descent from parent to child world without end.

Our pessimism is not, of course, that the circle cannot be broken, but only that it is so hard to make men and women see this in the face of hoary tradition. They are so much more interested in their own troubles than in the troubles their children may some day have. They are not interested in vicarious atonement. They cannot see that as parents they can do more than anyone to put an end to the things that breed misery for all who have to follow the way of love from cradle to grave. They cannot see that they are the gods upon whose knees rests the married happiness of the next generation—and the next and the next and the next.

INDEX

Adler, Alfred, 131, 187
Adultery (see Sex intercourse, adulterous)
Ambivalence toward mother as factor in choice of wife, 161–164
Animals, sex lives of, 90
Aristotle, 205

Behaviorism, 302–308
Birth control, 94–95, 97–100
  and promiscuity before marriage, 297
Brother-sister relationship, in relation to marital happiness, 157, 172, 293
Brothers (women's), 172
  disposition of, in relation to marital happiness, 173
  physical appearance of, in relation to marital happiness, 173

Children:
  and conditioning factors, in relation to marital adjustments, 45–46, 50, 67, 68–70, 100, 107–108, 204–205, 213–225, 226, 284, 287, 297–298, 302–308
  desire for, 95, 281
  number of, 96
  psychological care of, 302–308
Climax (see Orgasmic capacity)

"Companionate marriage," 300–301
Compensation for inferiorities, 187, 188–189, 194, 201
Conditioning factors in childhood in relation to marital adjustments, 45–46, 50, 67, 68–70, 100, 107–108, 204–205, 213–225, 226, 284, 287, 297–298, 302–308
Contraception, 94–95, 97–100
  and promiscuity before marriage, 297
Contraceptives, 2, 97–100, 281
  efficacy of, in relation to sex adjustments, 99–100

Date of birth,
  in relation to:
    illicit sex intercourse, 244–247, 285
    marital happiness, 24
    virginity at marriage, 244–247, 285
Davis, Dr. Katharine B., 15, 98
Disposition of spouse, 114–124, 129 (see also Temperamental, etc.)
Dissatisfactions:
  alcoholism, 54
  causing desire to end the marriage, 43, 62, 279
  economic, 54, 65, 280
    extravagance, 74–75

management of income, 76–78
non-saving, 84–85
size of income, 75–76
wife's contribution, 79–84
extra-marital love affairs, 52, 58
husband's family, 54
ill-health, 55
jealousy, 58
lack of affection, 54, 57, 282
lack of children, 53–54
limitations of domesticity, 52–53, 280
marriage as an institution, 44, 62
selfishness, 54, 282
social and intellectual, 41–42, 59, 280
spouse's physical appearance, 124–130, 146–148, 281–282
spouse's temperamental qualities, 115–124, 135–146, 281–282
summary of, 37, 57, 62–63
temperamental and sexual, 35–41, 48–52, 56–57, 64–65, 279–280, 281–282
when developed, 43, 59–60, 279
(see also Friction, and Habits)
Divorce and marriage laws, suggested, 296–302
Divorce or separation:
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 226–227
problem of, 288–293

Economic friction:
between the 55 married couples, 73
between the 200 subjects, 70–72
extravagance, 74–75
in relation to marital happiness, 74
management of income, 76–78
non-saving, 84–85
past and present, 73–74
size of income, 75–76
wife's contribution, 79–84
Education (formal) of spouses, in relation to marital happiness, 30–31, 279
Endocrine disorder, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 206–207, 226
Extravagance in women, in relation to:
marital happiness, 67–68
orgasmic capacity, 67–68, 226

Facts about the 200 people studied, 10–12
Father-daughter relationship, 165–179, 283, 293, 304–305
Father, over-dominant, affecting son's marital happiness, 292
Father type, preference for, in relation to marital happiness, 176–178
Fathers (women's):
and marital happiness, 165–179, 283, 293, 304–305
disposition of, in relation to marital happiness, 171
dispositional resemblance of husbands to, 172
in relation to marital happiness, 172
emotional attachment to, in relation to marital happiness, 170

physical appearance of, 166
in relation to marital happiness, 166–168, 174
physical resemblance of husbands to, 171–172, 267
in relation to marital happiness, 172
resemblance of lovers to, 264–270, 286 (graph, 269)
step- or foster, in relation to marital happiness, 170
Financial friction (see Economic friction)
Freud, Sigmund, 67, 150, 152, 158, 165, 181, 182–183, 186, 264
Friction, marital, caused by:
contraceptive methods, 100
economics, 66–87
incompetency of mate, 291–293
mismating, 288–290
question of having children, 96
sexual maladjustments, 88
(see also Dissatisfactions)

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 90
Glands (see Endocrine, etc.)

Habits objectionable to husbands, 109–114, 127, 146
appearing as defects in personality, 112, 135
attitude, 112, 135
extravagance, 114
mental, 111, 135
physical mannerisms and personal care, 110–111, 135
routine, 113, 135
sexual, 113
smoking, 114
social, 113
summary of, 129
Habits objectionable to wives, 128–135, 146
appearing as defects in personality, 133–134
attitude, 133
mental, 131–132, 135
physical mannerisms and personal care, 130–131, 135
routine, 132–133, 135
social, 134
Heredity, and psychological training, 302–308
Homosexuality, 169–170, 283

Impotency (see Sexual inadequacy, men)
Incest, 159, 169–170, 171, 177, 179, 221, 267, 268, 283, 305
Income:
management of, 76–78
in relation to marital happiness, 77–78
size of, 75–76
in relation to marital happiness, 31–32, 76, 86
Inferiorities, sexual (men), 193, 198
in relation to:
marital happiness, 201
percentage of self-confidence on 9 points, 195–196, 199
self-confidence grades, 194–195, 283
Inferiorities, sexual (women), in relation to self-confidence grades, 195, 283

Inferiority complex in men, 186–201
and compensation, 187, 188–189, 194, 201
caused by physical disabilities, 189
sexual, 193–194, 200–201

Kipling, 139

Latency period, 233
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 224
Laws, marriage and divorce, suggested, 296–302
Love affairs, 249–286
age at first, in relation to marital happiness, 263–264, 286
age factor in, 259–262, 286
and illicit sex intercourse, in relation to marital happiness, 272, 286
and petting, degrees indulged in, 270–271
factors determining, 272–273
in relation to marital happiness, 272
average number per person, in age periods, 256–258 (graphs, 257)
extra-marital, a source of dissatisfaction, 52, 158
extra-marital, and adultery, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 227, 294
number of happy marriages resulting from, 276
number of, in relation to marital happiness, 263, 286
post-marital, in relation to adulterous sex intercourse, 255
post-marital, in relation to marital happiness, 254–255, 285–286, 294–295
reasons for termination of, 273–275
resemblance of lover to parent of opposite sex, 264–270, 286 (graph, 269)

Marital adjustments in relation to conditioning factors in childhood, 45–46, 50, 67, 68–70, 100, 107–108, 204–205, 213–225, 226, 284, 287, 297–298, 302–308
Marital happiness, 18
in relation to:
adulterous sex intercourse, 236–237, 256, 285, 295
opinions as to justifiability of, 242
age at marriage, 25–26, 278
brother-sister relationship, 157, 172, 293
brothers (women's), 172
disposition of, 173
physical appearance of, 173
conditioning factors in childhood, 45–46, 50, 67, 68–70, 100, 107–108, 204–205, 213–225, 226, 284, 287, 297–298, 302–308
date of birth, 24
date of marriage, 24–25
economic friction, 74
education, formal, 30, 279

extravagance in women, 67–68
father-daughter relationship, 165–179, 283, 293, 304–305
father type, preference for, 176–178
fathers, over-dominant (men's), 292
fathers (women's):
  disposition of, 171
  dispositional resemblance of husbands to, 172
  emotional attachment to, 170
  physical appearance of, 166–168, 174
  physical resemblance of husbands to, 172
  step- or foster, 170
income:
  management of, 77–78
  size of, 31–32, 76, 86
love affairs:
  age at first, 263–264, 286
  number of, 263, 286
  petting, degrees indulged in, 272
  post-marital, 254–255, 285–286
mother-son relationship, 150–165, 169, 282, 291–293, 303–304
mother type, preference for, 162–164, 176
mothers (men's):
  disposition of, 156, 162–163, 164
  dispositional resemblance of wives to, 160–161, 164, 282
  emotional attachment to, 154–155, 282
  physical appearance of, 156, 164, 174
  physical resemblance of wives to, 158, 161, 164, 267, 282
occupation, husband's, 31–32, 86
orgasmic capacity, 210, 294–295
parents:
  harmony between, 180, 283
  preference for one or the other, 155, 174–175
  seniority of, 29
reactions to fathers and brothers (women's), 178–179
reactions to mothers and sisters (men's), 164
savings during marriage, 85, 86
self-confidence grades, 200, 283–284
seniority of wife, 278–279
sex desire, strength of mate's, 106–107, 281
sex intercourse:
  illicit, 286
  pre-marital, with person other than spouse, 284
  pre-marital, with spouse, 235, 284
sexual inferiorities, in men, 201
sisters (men's), physical appearance of, 157, 164, 173
spouse:
  relative age of, 26–29, 278–279

relative education of, 30–31, 279
virginity at marriage, 234–235, 284
and adultery, 236–237, 285
wives:
wage-earning, 68, 80, 84, 86
with independent incomes, 83
of the 55 married couples, 64, 278
of the 200 subjects, 21–23, 278
Marriage:
age at, in relation to marital happiness, 25–26, 278
and divorce laws, suggested, 296–302
and material civilization, 1–3
as solution of sex problems, 3–4
grades, 19–24
hypothetical case, 5–7
laws and moral attitudes, 297
Masturbation (women) in relation to orgasmic capacity, 227, 284
Menstruation:
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 226
in relation to periodicity of sex desire, 91, 281
Method used in studying 200 marriages, 8–16
Moral attitudes and marriage laws, 297
"Mother complex," 150–165, 169, 264, 282, 283
Mother-son relationship, 150–165, 169, 282, 291–293, 303–304
Mother type, preference for, in relation to marital happiness, 162–164, 176
Mothers (men's):
ambivalence toward, as factor in choice of wives, 161–164
disposition of, 156
in relation to marital happiness, 156, 162–163, 164
dispositional resemblance of wives to, 160
in relation to marital happiness, 160–161, 164, 282
emotional attachment to, 153
affected during adolescence, 158–160
in relation to marital happiness, 154–155, 282
physical appearance of, 156
in relation to marital happiness, 156, 164, 174
physical resemblance of wives to, 157–158
in relation to marital happiness, 158, 161, 164, 267, 282
resemblance of lovers to, 264–270, 286 (graph, 269)

Occupation, husband's, in relation to marital happiness, 31–32, 86
"Œdipus complex," 150–165, 169, 264, 282, 283
Orgasm (see Orgasmic capacity)
Orgasmic capacity, 49–50, 56, 202–228, 284
adequate, 202–203

as affected by fear of pregnancy, 99–100, 211
in relation to:
adulterous sex intercourse, 227, 237, 285
age at first sex curiosity, 218–219, 284
age at first sex experience, 227–228
age at puberty, 224
conditioning factors, 50, 67, 107–108, 204–205, 213–225, 226, 284, 294, 297–298, 305
divorce or separation, 210, 226–227
endocrine disorder, 206–207, 226
experience with men other than husbands, 210
extravagance, 67–68, 226
frequency of sex intercourse first marital year, 228
husband's ineptitude, 207–209, 284
husband's virginity at marriage, 208
lack of love for husband, 209–211
latency period, 223–224
love affairs, adulterous, 227, 294–295
marital happiness, 210, 294–295
masturbation, 227, 284
menstrual period:
depression at, 226
duration of, 226
frequency of, 226
sex desire after, 226
parents' reaction to early sex curiosities, 217
psychoneurotic tendency, 203, 284, 294–295
reaction to adolescent sex desire, 223
reaction to arrival of puberty, 225
reaction to first marital sex act, 211–212
sex aggressions, early, 222–223, 284
sex desire, 203
sex information:
adequacy of, 219, 284,
age at first, 219, 284
reaction to, 221
source of, 220–221
structural defect, 206

Parents:
harmony between, in relation to marital happiness, 180, 283
preference for one or the other, in relation to marital happiness, 155, 174–175
seniority of, in relation to marital happiness, 29
their reactions to early sex curiosities, 216–217
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 217
Physical changes desired in husbands, 146–149, 282
eyes, 148
hair, 148, 282
height, 147–148, 282
summary of, 129
Physical changes desired in wives, 124–127, 146, 147–148, 282
eyes, 125, 126
figure, 125, 282

hair, 125
height, 125, 126, 148
skin, 125, 282
summary of, 129
Polygamous sex desire, 243, 285
in relation to virginity at marriage, 244
Potency, sexual (men), 198–200
in relation to self-confidence grades, 198
Pregnancy:
and abortions, 99
and reaction toward husband, 97
fear of, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 99–100, 211
sex desire during, 93
sex intercourse during, 92–93
Promiscuity (see Sex intercourse, illicit)
Psychological care of children, 302–308
Psychoneurotic tendency, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 203, 284, 294–295
Puberty (girls):
age at, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 224
reaction to, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 225

Self-confidence:
average grades, 192
method of grading, 190–192
of women, compared with men, 192–194
percentage of, on 9 points, in relation to sexual inferiorities, 195–197 (graphs, 196, 199)
summary, 197–198
Self-confidence grades, in relation to:
marital happiness, 200, 283–284
sexual inferiorities (men), 194–195, 283; (women), 195, 283
sexual potency (men), 198
Self-love and sex love, 181–186
Seniority of wife, in relation to marital happiness, 26–29, 278–279
Sex aggressions, early (experienced by women), 221–223
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 222–223, 284
in relation to sex information, 222
Sex curiosities of little girls, 215
age at first, 218
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 218–219, 284
and adequacy of information, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 219, 284
parents' reactions to, 216–217
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 217
Sex curiosity and instruction, 306–307
Sex desire:
during pregnancy, 93
frequency of, 102
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 203
mutuality of, 101
periodicity of, 91
in relation to menstruation, 91, 281
sexual adjustments to, 91
polygamous, 243, 285

in relation to virginity at marriage, 244
reaction to, during adolescence, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 223
strength of mate's, in relation to marital happiness, 106–107, 281
Sex information:
adequacy of, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 219, 284
age at first, concerning reproduction, 219
in relation to orgasmic capacity, 219, 284
and early sex aggressions, 222
importance of adequate, 306–307
reaction to, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 221
source of, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 220–221
Sex intercourse:
ability to have, in regard to frequency of spouse's desire, 102–104, 281
adulterous, 233, 235, 285
and pre-marital intercourse, 237–240 (graphs, 238–239)
and virginity, in relation to marital happiness, 236–237, 285
in relation to:
love affairs, number of post-marital, 255
marital happiness, 236–237, 256, 285, 295
orgasmic capacity, 227, 237, 285
virginity at marriage, 233, 235, 237–240, 285
opinions as to justifiability of, 240
in relation to marital happiness, 242
age at first, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 227–228
desire for, 102
mutuality of, 100–102, 281
during pregnancy, 92–93
frequency, first marital year, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 228
illicit, 229–247
in relation to date of birth, 244–247, 285
in relation to marital happiness, 286
pre-marital, 231–233
in relation to adulterous, 237–240 (graphs, 238–239)
with person other than spouse, in relation to marital happiness, 284
with spouse, in relation to marital happiness, 235, 284
pre- or post-marital, 285
ratio of women's unchastity to men's, 232
reaction to first marital, in relation to orgasmic capacity, 211–212
spouse's willingness for, 102
Sex lives:
of animals, lower order, 90
of man and other primates, 89–90
of the persons studied, 229–247

Sex love and self-love, 181–186
Sexual adequacy in women (see Orgasmic capacity)
Sexual attractiveness of spouse, 104, 240, 281
  reasons for loss of, 105–106, 285
  when ceased, 105
Sexual inadequacy (men), 102–104, 281
  in relation to extra-marital relations, 104
Sexual inadequacy (women), 49–50, 56, 202–228, 284, 294–295
  (see also Orgasmic capacity)
Sexual inferiorities in men, 193, 198
  in relation to:
    marital happiness, 201
    percentage of self-confidence on 9 points, 195–197 (graphs, 196, 199)
    self-confidence grades, 194–195, 283
Sexual inferiorities in women, in relation to self-confidence grades, 195, 283
Sexual maladjustments:
  and fear of pregnancy, 99–100, 211
  and marital friction, 88
  due to:
    adverse conditionings in childhood, 45–46, 50, 67, 68–70, 100, 107–108, 204–205, 213–225, 226, 284, 294, 297–298, 305
    emotional precocity, 264
    husband's premature physical reaction, 107
Sexual potency (men), 198–200
  in relation to self-confidence grades, 198
Sexuality of spouse in relation to marital happiness, 106–107, 281
Shaw, Bernard, 2, 94
Sisters (men's):
  physical appearance of, in relation to marital happiness, 157, 164, 173
Stopes, Dr. Marie, 91
Subjective inferiorities (see Inferiority complex)

Taboo:
  homosexual, 169–170, 283
  incest, 159, 169–170, 171, 177, 179, 220–221, 267, 268, 283, 305
  sex, 204–205, 214–215, 233
Temperamental changes desired in husbands, 135–146, 281–282
  affection, 139–140
  care of dress, 140–141
  flirtatiousness, 143–144
  intelligence, 141
  religion, 141–142
  scolding, 138
  selfishness, 139
  serious-mindedness, 141
  sexual desire, 140
  social ease, 142
  summary of, 129, 144–146
  talkativeness, 136–138, 146
  temper, 138
  thriftiness, 139
  truthfulness, 142–143
  vanity, 142
Temperamental changes desired in wives, 115–124, 281–282

affection, 120–121
care of dress, 117–118
flirtatiousness, 122
intelligence, 115, 116–117
religion, 122
scolding, 115, 117
selfishness, 118–119
serious-mindedness, 121–122
sexual desire, 115, 117, 146
social ease, 120
summary of, 123–124, 129, 145–146
talkativeness, 115–116
temper, 115, 116
thriftiness, 119
truthfulness, 119
vanity, 122

Virginity at marriage:
among the 200 men and women, 231
and adultery, in relation to marital happiness, 236–237, 285
husband's, in relation to wife's orgasmic capacity, 208
in relation to:
adultery, 233, 235, 237–240, 285
date of birth, 244–247, 285
marital happiness, 234–235, 284
polygamous sex desire, 244

Watson, Dr. John B., 302, 303

University of Southern Califor

LIBRARY OF THE
UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY
NEW YORK

m. c. 20
"married

97904

HQ
728
H26

97904

Hamilton, Gilbert V. T,
What is wrong with
marriage

DATE	MR 1 9 '69 ISSUED TO

Hamilton
What

THEOLOGY LIBRARY
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CLAREMONT
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

PRINTED IN U.S.A.